ROMVLVS ROMA TARQVIN

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First Written in Italian By the Marquess Virgilio Malvezzi.

And now taught English, by Henr: E: of Monmouth. The 3.d Edition.

LONDON: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his Shop in Pauls Church yard. 1648.

Will: Marshall. sculpsit.

ROMVLVS AND TARQVIN,

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BY THE

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BY

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TO THE MOST Sacred *Majesty* of CHARLES the first, Monarch of Great *Britaine*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c.

GIve me leave SIR, I beseech you, to present your *Majestie* with a Glasse, wherein you may see your soule: A good face may bee discerned in a glasse of Jett; and if *contraria juxta se posita*, do *magis elucescere*; if contraries doe best appear, when most

A direct-

directly oppoſed; how can CHARLES *the Gracious* bee better drawne to the Life, than by the deſcription of TARQUIN *the Proud?* How can the unparalel'd CHARLES *the Chaſt*, be better portraited, than by the decipheringe of of TARQUIN *the foule Raviſher?* How can the happineſſe your *Majeſties* Realms enjoy (and long may they enjoy it) under your *Majeſties* bleſſed Government better appeare, than by the making known what Miſeries and Slavery the *Romanes* endured under the rule of *Tarquin the Tyrant?* And how, SIR, can your Pietie and religious Zeale bee better manifeſted, than by the ſelfe-deification of ROMULUS? who, though it be true, he had the honour of being the firſt Founder of a *Famous people*, yet *Non minor eſt virtus quam quærere, parta tueri.* Wherein to ſhew your *Majeſties* Wiſedome

Wiſedome and Vigilancie, I need not expatiate my ſelfe. This Glaſſe SIR, is originally *Italian*, and thoſe your *Majeſty* knows are much better than ours of *England*, as made by better workmen, and of more refined materials, This, SIR, is but the Copy of a Principall, which I muſt confeſſe, deſerves to bee copied by a much more skilfull hand; but as it is, SIR, I humbly beg your *Majeſties* gracious Patronage of it, and your Pardon for my ſo doing, to

Your Majeſties

Humble and Loyall Subject,

and therein moſt happy,

MONMOUTH.

To the favorable READER.

THis Booke in its native Language, I dare boldly affirme, doth very well deserve the reading; if it shall not seeme to thee to doe so, being thus transplanted, the fault is either thine, or mine; all of favour I will desire of thee is, not to be too sudden in thy censure; for beleeve meit, will admit of second thoughts.

HENRY Earle of MONMOUTH.

To

To his much honoured HENRY Earle of MONMOUTH upon his Translation of *Malvezzi* his *Romulus* and *Tarquin*.

IT is so rare and new a thing to see
Ought that belongs to young Nobility
In print, (but their own cloths) that we must praise
You as we would doe those first shew the wayes
To Arts or to new Worlds: You have begun: (done:
Taught travell'd youth what 'tis it should have
For't has indeed too strong a custome bin
To carry out more wit than we bring in.
You have done otherwise brought home (my Lord)
The choicest things Fam'd Countries doe afford:
Malvezzi *by your meanes is English grown,*
And speaks our tongue as well now as his own.
Malvezzi, *he: whom 'tis as hard to praise*
To merit, as to imitate his wayes.
He does not shew us Rome *great suddenly,*
As if the Empire were a Tympany,
But gives it naturall growth, tels how, and why
The little body grew so large and high.
Describes each thing so lively, that we are
Concern'd our selves before we are aware:
And at the wars, they and their neighbours wag'd
Each man is present still, and still engag'd.
Like a good prospective he strange'y brings
Things distant to us: and in these two Kings
We see what made greatnes. And what 't has been
Made that greatnes contemptible againe,

And all this not tediously deriv'd,
But like to worlds in little Mapps contriv'd.
Tis he that doth the Roman Dame restore,
Makes Lucrece *chaster for her being whore.*
Gives her a kind Revenge for Tarquins *sinne,*
For ravish't first she ravisheth againe:
She sayes such fine things after't, that we must
In spite of vertue thanke foule Rape and Lust,
Since 'twas the cause no woman would have had,
Though she's of Lucrece *side,* Tarquin *lesse bad.*
But stay: like one that thinks to bring his friend
A mile or two, and sees the journeyes end,
I straggle on too farre: long graces doe
But keepe good stomacks off that would fa'l too.

JOH. SUCKLIN. Knight.

To my much honored friend, HENRY Earle of MONMOUTH, upon his Tranſlation of MALVEZZI.

My Lord,

IN every triviall worke 'tis knowne
Tranſlators muſt be maſters of their owne
And of their Authours language, but your taſke
A greater latitude of skill did aske.
For your Malvezzi *firſt requir'd a man*
To teach him ſpeake vulgar Italian:
His matter's ſo ſublime, ſo new his phraſe,
So farre above the ſtile of Bembec's *dayes*
Old Varchie's *rules, or what the Cruſca yet*
For currant Tuſcan mintage will admit,
As I beleeve your Marquis by a good
Part of his natives hardly underſtood.
You muſt expect no happier fate, tis true
He is of noble birth, of nobler you:
So nor your thoughts, nor words fit common eares,
He writes, and you tranſlate, both to your Peeres

THO. CAREVV.

To the Right Honorable his much esteemed friend, HENRY Earle of MONMOUTH upon his Translation of *Malvezzi*.

SO swift is thought; this Morn I took my flight
To ruind Babel, *and return'd to night,*
So strong, that time (whose course no power could
I have enforc't some forty ages back. (slack)
To me that great Disorder, and Decay,
Was both begun and consummate to day.
My selfe some strong Caldean Mason there,
Still sore with massie stones they made me beare.
Just now me thinks I'm struck for some command
Mistooke, in words I could not understand.
So lasting are great griefes, we still retaine,
Remembrance of them though we loose the paine.
And that confusion did a griefe comprise
Greatest, in that it most concern'd the wise.
For these (who best deserv'd the care of fate)
The first great curse much lesse did penetrate,
Which makes us labour for our foode so long,
Then this, which mixt or cancell'd every tongue:
Cause now we toile and sweat for knowledg more
Than for the bodies nourishment before.
Knowledge: ere it did practise to controle,
No weapon was, but diet to the soule,
Which as her nourishment she might enjoy,
Not like Controverts, others to destroy:
And this her food, like milke, did nourish best,
Cause it was safe and easie to digest.

Which

Which milke, that curſe on languages turn'd ſowre
And men ſcarce taſt what they could once devoure
For now we are preparing to bee dead,
Ere we can halfe interpret what we read.
Yet he that for our bodies tooke ſuch care
That to each wound their ſeverall medicines are:
In noble pity, ſurely hath aſsign'd
A cure for every miſchiefe of the minde:
So this revenge (perhaps) was but to try
Our patience firſt, and then our induſtry:
Since he ordain'd that beauteous truth ſhould ſtill
Be overcaſt, and hid from humane skill.
Sure he affects that war which Schoolemen wage,
When to know truth doth make their learning rage:
For truth is much more precious then our peace,
Though ſome fond Politicks eſteeme her leſſe:
Lazie obedience is to them devout,
And thoſe rebellious that diſpute a doubt.
But you (my Lord) muſt valiantly diſpiſe (guiſe:
Their threats that would keepe knowledge in diſ-
And toyle with languages to make her cleare,
Which is to be a juſt interpreter.
And this ſelected peece which you tranſlate,
Foretells your ſtudies may communicate
From darker Dialects of a ſtrange land,
Wiſdom, that here th' unlearn'd ſhall underſtand.
What noble wonders will in time appeare,
When all that's forren growes domeſticke here?
When all the ſcatter'd world you reconcile
Vnto this ſpeech, and Idiome of this Ile?
How like a generall ſcepter rules that pen,
Which mankind makes one kinde of Country men.

W. DAVENANT. Knight.

To the right Honourable, HENRY Earle of MONMOUTH, eldeſt ſonne to the Earle of MONMOUTH.

VErball Tranſlators ſtick to the bare Text,
Sometime ſo cloſe, the Reader is perplex't,
Finding the words to finde the wit that ſprung
From the firſt writer in his native tongue,
The ſpirit of an Authour being fled,
His naked lines looke like a body dead.
Leſſe Criticke, more Judicious, you preſent,
No Authour ſtrip't, but full of Ornament:
Or rather Galileo-*like deſcry*
Daily new Starres, and fix them in our skie:
Whoſe diſtance Davenant *ſhews; How pure they be*
We heare by Carew, *but by you we ſee.*
Their vertue Suckling *ſweetly doth expreſſe,*
What I can adde would make thoſe lights ſeem leſſe
Malvezzi *and your Lordſhip would decline*
From your true height by a poore praiſe of mine;
The beſt is then, ſo weake a braine can doe,
In their Gold-ſcales to weigh both him and you.

Your Lordſhips moſt humble ſervant,

A. TOUNSHEND.

To his much valued friend, HENRY Earle of MONMOUTH, Authour of this Translation.

MY Noble Lord, no more of Lepington
Then of the Tuscan language and your owne
That have so polish't with your English file
This knotty peece of darke Malvezzi's *stile,*
And taken to the life his mind as like
As any face e're drawn by great Vaudyke,
Faine would I praise your worke; but when I looke
On these great leading Names before your Booke
I'm silenc't straight, for 'tis in reason fit
To more Authentick pens I should submit;
Yet needs I must conjure you in the name
Of your wise Authour still, and by the fame
Of this your choice Translation, to go on
And tell as David's *persecution,*
That so you may not by your Marquis be
Censur'd of any partiality,
But as both Gentile he oblig'd and Iew,
So he and they may both b'oblig'd to you,

Another peece of *Malvezzi.*

THO. WORTLEY.

To the right Honorable, HENRY Earle of MOUNMOUTH on his *Romulus* and *Tarquin*.

THe Fortune, that with humane pity ſtrucke
A wolfe to leave her young ones and give ſucke
To Romulus, was not ſo kind as he
That now preſerves him to eternity (Fame
In this rich peece, for which our world thinks
Owes more to Cary's than Malvezzi's name:
For though we read th' Italian, and confeſſe
No Authour writes it with more happineſſe,
Yet did not you, my Lord, your Engliſh call
The Coppy, we ſhould ſtile't th' Originall.
To him who thron'd the Regall Pow'r in Rome
He's joyn'd who lai'd that Title in his Tombe,
Proud Tarquin ſtill a Raviſher, but how?
He raviſhes the Soule, not body now.
This for your Lordſhips pure pen let me ſay,
Had Tarquin courted Lucrece in the way
He ſpeakes here, ſhe had not had pow'r to ſcape
His bold attemp, but ſure't been no Rape.
I to our chaſter Ladies doe appeale,
That to their chambers doe this Tarquin ſteale;
Whoſe acted Life in beſt Men ne're did move
More hatred, than his written Life gaines Love.
What Honours ought the Senate to decree
To their Malvezzi? to our Cary we?
Their owne deriding Paſquil would abuſe
The Roman wiſedome, if they ſhould refuſe
To Canonize, as 'tis in reaſon fit,
The Authour, for the Miracle of 's wit.
And we are by like reaſon ti'd to keepe
The feaſt of the Tranſlation, elſe the Deepe
Would frown upon our ſtudies, and no more
Land ſuch a forren Prize on our dull ſhore.

ROBERT STAPYLTON Knight

THE AUTHOUR
to the Reader.

I HAVE commented upon, but not yet fully finiſhed the Lives of the ſeven Kings of Rome. This of *Romulus*, if it like thee, the Reader, is the beginning of the Book, if it like thee not, the end; a few lines; but if bad, not few enough; every Entity is too great, whoſe formality is miſſhapen; a few lines, but if good, many: the quality of Good meaſures the quantity, and the intenſiveneſſe is that which extends it. I term him mercenary, who in many ſheets binds up a few precepts; the Readers patience payes him the full price for what he learnes; and hee is the worſt of theeves, whilſt he ſteales away Time which cannot bee reſtored: Art is long, life ſhort, which is more ſpent in reading than profiting, if men delight more to than write inſtruct, and to profit in

in the ſciences of theſe dayes, a man muſt bee a better *Atletas* than Academian, for the labour of the armes is no leſſe in the largeneſſe of volumes, than is the labour of the braines.

I write to Princes, becauſe I write of Princes: to entertaine them with flim-flam tales, is to ſin againſt the common good; their grievances are cured by quinteſcences, they ought not to be nauſeated with decoctions.

I have dedicated this my worke in my mind, but not Publiſht it, becauſe I will onely have the Reader for my protector, nor doe I looke for any other reward, than to bee praiſed or borne withall. Reader, if thou applaudſt not my diſcourſe, applaud my good will.

Romulus

ROMULUS.

TO write of modern men is a troubleſome buſineſſe; all men commit errors, few having committed them, will heare thereof; one muſt, or flatter them, or ſay nothing; to comment upon their actions, is to endeavour to teach more by a mans owne example, then by that of others, more to him that writes, than to him that reades; more to be ſilent, than to bee active: The actions of Princes have every other appearance, than that of truth; to relate them as they appeare, pertakes of the Epique ſtraine; as they are, of the Satyricall. Flatterers have yet moreover ſo exalted their good deeds, that the naked truth redounds to the blame of the relatiõ: for the truth of that praiſe which is heard, comes ſhort of that which is beleeved; and ſome there are who arrive at that height, as they leave

no place for flattery, fancying themſelves greater than flattery can make them.

Preſent actions are not with ſafety related, nor are they liſtned unto without danger: well may they be reverenced, never cenſured: who puts them in print, ſeeks after an uncertain glory, expoſes himſelfe to a certain danger; who leaves it to be done by poſterity, reapes no other fruit of his preſent labours, than the meer contemplation of a future imaginary fruitleſſe glory. Worldly glory ends with the world, & for what concernes us, the world ends with our lives: to have ones thoughts wholly buſied upon the good of poſterity, is either a more than humane conception, or elſe a fooliſh one; to dedicate ones labours to glory alone, diabolicall; to accompany them with the good of others, humane: to have in them no ſelfe-reſpect, divine. I will avoid the treading of ſo ſteepe and intricate a path. I will write of times paſt to the time preſent. The defects of the Sunne, which are with ſafety pointed at, reflected in waters, are not without danger of the eyes, ſeene in a direct line. I will writ more of man, than this

or

or that man; for this or that man dies, and man lives; and my buſie *genius* venting it ſelfe in deeds of old, if they purchaſe me not the crowne of glory, they will at leaſt ſerve for a buckler againſt envy. The actions of our Anceſtors uſe to be examined, not maligned, for wee not emulate, but imitate them; we willingly liſten to the praiſes of ſuch, who, gotten long ſince out of the reach of envy, ſeem by their deeds of fame to raiſe the weakneſſe of mortality; and faults which are found in paſt actions diſpleaſe not, whileſt they take from the evill opinion of preſent times.

Envy, like poyſon, works not where it finds no heat; dead carkaſes are meat for crowes and worms, not men. Death hath onely ice enough to extinguiſh the fire of envy, and leave ſome aſhes of compaſſion: ſhe makes us ſee no one is ſuperiour to another, by her making of us all equall, and by her often changing (by a ſudden *Metamorphoſis*) the termes of moſt happy, into titles of miſery and poverty.

Romulus his valour, *Numas* pity, *Tullus* his fierceneſſe, *Ancus* his goodneſſe, the

the vigilancie of *Lucumus*, fortune of *Servius*, and impiety of *Tarquin*, ſhall be my ſubject.

PROCUS *King of the Albans had two ſons*, AMULIUS *and* NUMITOR, *the latter elder in yeares, the other of a more working ſpirit; the King left his Kingdome to the elder, but the fathers will, and brothers priority in years, were forced to give way to the others more daring ſpirit.*

THat Power which Princes make uſe of for the maintaining of reaſon in the intereſts of particular men, they uſe the very ſame to deſtroy it, in what concernes themſelves. Juſtice came downe to us from above, to withſtand violence, mans weaknes bereaving her of her weapons of choice, make her aſſume force to extinguiſh force, but ſhee vaniſheth with the planet of her birth, when the ſword, which ſhould defend, deſtroyes her. Princes ſometimes keep her un-

toucht by others, that they themſelves may commit a rape upon her; they meaſure her with weapons, & when buſineſſe comes to be concluded of amongſt them, he hath the juſteſt cauſe, whoſe ſtrength is greateſt; all other manner of proceeding, they think only doth become ſuch who either dare not uſe violence, or fear to have it uſed unto themſelves. They thinke it no reaſon for him to command others, who is not able to reſiſt the force of others; neither would ſubjects be better than their Princes, but equally uujuſt, were they not more compelled: they who can have recourſe to the ſword which Juſtice holds up in her right hand, ſeldome betake themſelves to the ballance which hangs on her left ſide.

Nor hath the prerogative of Age any more precedency in matters of State; men doe not wait for ſuch yeares as doe deſtroy life, but ſuch as valour may bee grounded upon, the ſelfe-ſame weapons which Time uſes to ſubdue the body, are by the underſtanding uſed to ſubdue time, whoſe tyranny is avoyded; whileſt by the meanes of Fame it gets into the boſome of Eternity; but admit it ſhould yeeld

yeeld, yet ought we not to honour time which only works our deſtruction.

Amulius *is not content to have unthron'd his brother* Numitor.

THe taking away of Kingdomes would be but little cruelty, did not the taking of them engage a man to greater; the one ſprings from the other, and the latter is more fruitfull.

He feares his brothers children. He kils the male, nor does the female ſex free him from feare; if ſhe chance to have ſons, he thinks he hath taught them the art of bereaving Kingdome.

THe Tyrant is afraid of every one, and it is fatall that he fears his own example; for in that he feares every one, hee is not exempted from fearing in a manner himſelfe.

He thinkes to fence himſelfe ſufficiently againſt fate without bloud, by

by putting her amongſt the Veſtals, to conſecrate her Virginity to the Gods.

WOmens weakneſſe ſerveth for innocency with Tyrants; they meet with more difficulty, where they are leaſt withſtood; they cannot finde in them thoſe faults which make their cruelty be praiſed; or feign ſuch fear in themſelves, as may not make them beare with them. They ſuffer them to live, beleeving that at their pleaſure, they may put them to death; but oftentimes, through Gods infallible judgement, they are throwne downe head-long, as falſifiers of Wiſedome.

Women are fit inſtruments to cauſe the loſſe of Kingdomes: nor is it a ſufficient remedie to marry them to men of quiet diſpoſitions, if they themſelves bee of a turbulent ſpirit; and ſay no feare ought to be had of them, who can ſecure himſelfe of the off-ſpring. Children for the moſt part ſide with the belly, and there change is eaſie, where are alike qualities: Nor doe the People thinke it ſhame to change Lord, if they chuſe one

out of their Matters Family.

Amulius was wicked, I confeſſe, but hee knew not how ſufficiently to make uſe of his wickedneſſe, he bereft his brother of his Kingdome, his Neece of her liberty, and took from neither of them their lives. I cannot well ſay, whether or no he did deſpiſe *Numitors* weakneſſe, whether hee built upon his patience or not, or whether his policy was to colour his owne wickedneſſe, by making the world ſee he had not a ſufficient courage to governe a Kingdome, who had ſo little courage as to live, being deprived of one.

To take away a Kingdome, and ſuffer the King to live, is a cruell piece of charity, wherewith all Tyrants whileſt they go about to deceive the world, they oftentimes deceive themſelvs. The whole will eaſily meet together, the parts whereof are left alive. To ſet the Statue of vertue upon a deſpicable foundation, is as much as to build a Coloſſus of gold upō feet of dirt: piety becomes a King, for that his government is voluntary. Cruelty a Tyrant, for that his is violent; courteſie befits the one, force is requiſite to the

other: neither yet doth that ſecure him, he is not unlike a belly-god, who if he perſiſt to eat, a ſurfet kils him; if he deſiſt, a diet: if the Tyrant bloudy his hands without reſpect, he dies for being cruell; if otherwiſe, for ſeeming to bee pious; Vice, though in the midſt of Vertue, is not ſecure, becauſe ſhee contaminates it.

The young woman tarried not long amongſt the Veſtals, before ſhee was brought to bed of two ſonnes, having had company with Mars, *as ſhe affirmed, to the end that this her neceſſary error might not onely through the eminencie of the perſon prove excuſable, but in ſome kinde worthy of commendations; the martiall acts of* Romulus *give credit to this report; the people of Rome for their greater glory did increaſe it, and ſtranger Nations, for their leſſe of ſhame, give way unto it.*

It

IT is no ſhame to be inferiour in power, to what is ſuperiour in nature, nay, were not the combat to be accounted raſhneſſe, to loſe would be accounted glorious, ſince the victory of the ſtrongeſt party redounds to the honor of the weakeſt.

To make *Mars* the author of ſacrilege, was to ſave ones ſelfe from the ſeverity of man, with the mantle of a god; even good Princes run often ſhipwrack upon this rock, either in their own credulity, or in that of their people, as being pious, or not ſeeming impious. A Tyrant laughs at all which not concernes himſelfe; he more feares the power of men, than of God, otherwiſe he would not endeavour to ſecure himſelfe from the one, by that cruelty which doth more incenſe the other.

He delivereth the young woman into the hands of the Prieſts, to bee dealt withall according to the ſeverity of juſtice; he commits the twins to the charge of a ſubordinate

nate officer, with charge to drown them; but he endeavoured to give way to fortune for their ſafegard, as alſo for his owne defence; hee feared that Revenge which oft-times not being able to be taken againſt the Maſter, doth vent it ſelfe againſt the Officer.

IT is no wholſome counſell to truſt another with the death of one deſcended of Royall blood: he ſuffers him to live either through pity, or policy: If he be compaſſionate, he knows not how to be cruell: If politick, he thinkes the preſent times will not laſt long; his thoughts are buſied on times to come; he hath one eye upon the Tyrant, another upon him that ſhall ſucceed him; and he endeavours more to ſave himſelf, than to ſecure his Prince.

Hee expoſed them therefore to the ſtanding waters of Tybur, in the midſt of a ſpacious ſhelfe, where when the river eb'd, they were left upon the dry ſands.

TO have the command of people, an
to float upon the waters, have ſuch
proportion between them, as man
Princes have in their tendreſt years bee
expoſed to the fortune of this elemen
or in their riper yeares, have been ſum
moned to paſs over it. Waters have ſom
what of ſympathy with the commo
people; they ſuſtain light things, ſuff
what is heavie to ſinke; they are tumu
tuous and inconſtant; eaſie to be with
ſtood when calme, not ſo when trou
bled their force increaſeth when it mee
with an obſtacle, but who goes with th
ſtreame, goe the waters never ſo hig
reapes profit by them.

The little ones lament, and to the
whinings, comes in a Wolfe,
woman, in manner or name, con
formable to ſuch a beaſt, whic
gave them ſucke: there the ſhep
herd Fauſtulus *found them, & fa*
ſhioning unto himſelfe reall beau
ties, in the majeſtie of their coun
tenances, as if the Stars did fore
tell to them ſome great good e
vent

vent; being ſmiled on by the one, and allured by the other, hee reſolves to ſave them.

PRinces have ſome-what more than other men in the majeſtie of their countenance in their tutelary Angels, & in the influences of the Stars. Some call a Prince an *Heroe*, Truth it ſelfe cals him a god; nor had the *Gentiles* beene much out, had they not by equivocating from the ſimilitude to the eſſence, added to the Name of God adoration; the common people, becauſe they thinke him more than man, wonder if he be but equall to other men, are offended if he be inferiour: Princes ought not ſuffer themſelves be meaſured; who ſuffers competition not ſure to win, is ſure to loſe; ſomewhat of more than from others is required from him that hath ſomewhat of more than others.

This Shepherd gladded, carried the Children to his owne houſe, and delivered them to his wife Lau-

renza, *that ſhe might bring them. The waters beare them up, a wilde beaſt gives them ſucke, a ſhepherd takes them up, and joys to be joyned a miniſter with the waters and wilde beaſts in theſe adventures, which might already be diſcerned in theſe miraculous events.*

THe Heavens never ſend forth any great ſignes, which have not a particular relation to ſome great perſonages; for they are the univerſall cauſe of all things, and whilſt they produce effects, which ſeeme to have relation to one only; if he be a Prince, it hath an univerſall operation; for the people are partakers with their Princes in his gaines, loſſes, vertues and vice.

They were not much advanced in yeares, when exerciſing their ſtrength and valour amongſt the woods, in the day-breake of their youth, might bee diſcerned the

light

bright Sun-ſhine of riper yeares.

HUnting is a kind of warfare, and is more ſeemely then any other hoſtility, in as much as the dominion over beaſts, is more naturall then over men. The purſuit of timorous beaſts doth not become a Prince; it may peradventure advantage him in the knowledge of ſcituations: but for ought elſe, it only teaches how baſely to run away from thoſe of greater power, or elſe to purſue with poore reputation, ſuch as do not defend themſelves.

Theſe young youths did exerciſe themſelves in the chaſe of fierce beaſts, thereby inuring their bodies to hardneſſe, and their mind not to feare danger: where the ſpoils of the ſlaughtered prey ſerve for trophies erected to the valour of the hunter; in a ſhort ſpace they left preying upon wild beaſts, & fell to purſue ſuch men who barbarouſly preyed upon other men,

where guided by valour, having wonne reputation, and being followed by a number of country people, they freed thoſe parts from robbers, & made themſelves chief head of all the neighboring Shepherds.

MEn cannot live happy where they live not ſafe; therefore is it that Cities are built, that Princes are accepted of, and impoſitions tolerated. The ancient Idolaters, amongſt the reſt of their gods, placed him for one, who made ſafe unto them their leaſure times.

Theſe doe all honour due to a Prince, to thoſe who did diſcharge the duty of a Prince.

VAlour is a dumb eloquence, which draws all men unto it, either for that they admire it, fear it, or do thereby receive benefit: ſelfe-intereſt begins at the high concave ſuperficies of the Moone, and penetrates even to the pooreſt Shepherds cottage; it had its beginning with the world, that it might firſt main-

maintaine, and then destroy the world, it is the moral Philosophy of the world, which penetrats even into the most solid parts: man would not only predominate over man, but Element over Element, and when the one shall have compassed his intent, the other will have done so also; for the world will end with the selfe respect wherewith it did begin.

Such as did live by rapine, did not well brooke the actions of these brothers: & being desirous of revenge, whilst Romulus *and* Remus *did assist at the celebration of some sports, dedicated to the honour of god* Pan, *with more confidence than becomes any who thinks it lawfull to offend others, they set upon them; and taking* Rhemus *prisoner, brought him before* Amulius, *notwithstanding his enmity to theeves, as one that committed outrage in his Majesties grounds.*

TO take from others the meanes whereby they were wont to live, would goe hand in hand with taking away their lives, but that it is worſe, in that it leaves way for revenge, which continual loſſe cauſes continually be deſired: an injury in honour is of no force in baſely minded people, it is of power enough in generous hearts; yet oft it vaniſhes away with time, as that which hath no other foundation than opinion: in the death of friends and allyes, thoſe who are far off, leave the revenge to thoſe whom it moſt concerns; thoſe who are nearer at hand, comfort themſelves in the good they thereby purchaſe, content themſelves therewithall, and whilſt their minde is ſet upon peaceable enjoying, they forget revenge: To be wrong'd in a mans livelihood, is the only thing which admits not of oblivion, for preſent poverty is intolerable to him that hath not been thereunto accuſtomed, it calls to minde the former more plentifull condition; and loſſe which is not the leaſt in aggravating offences, is the greateſt in provoking revenge.

The Shepherd Fauſtulus *by the calculation of times, was not ignorant of their birth, being to the beliefe thereof, the more incited by their magnanimous acts, which did far ſurpaſſe the ſoules of ſhepherds; nor had he for all this, intention of making their deſcent known, till he were thereunto conſtrained by lawleſſe neceſſity, or by a faire occaſion perſwaded.*

He would not ingage them in great affairs, before they had great power: when the obligation is greater then the meanes, man either dyes unfortunately, or lives diſcontented; he would not ſowre the ſweets of their Victories, with the wormewood of their birth; for whereas to be the chiefe of Shepherds, was the greateſt glory that could befall the ſonnes of Fauſtulus, *it would prove a deplorable miſery to the ſons of a King.*

THat birth detracts from the merits of great actions, which obliges to greater. He is not glorious that is borne a Prince, but he that becomes one; nor is he to be accounted abject, who is born a private man, but he whose actions make him so; that grain of corn is called great which is bigger then the rest; and that mountain little, which doth not exalt his head so high as others: A certaine wise man said that God is a Geometrician; perhaps because the world consists more of a Geometricall, than Arithmeticall proportion: Praise or dispraise are not occasioned by descent, but may well be weighed together with descent, they consist in differing from them in valour, to whom a man is equall in nature; herein consists mans rancor; and hee is not the aimed at mark of envy, to whom honour hath not formerly had refuge.

Necessity administring occasion, he acquaints Romulus *with the businesse.*

TO know ones selfe descended from famous ancestors, serves as a goad to

to thoſe magnanimous ſpirits, who take it for a note of infamy to be held famous for the actions of other men; but ſerves for a chain or clog to ſuch poore minds, who hold it lawfull quietly to enjoy the reſt, cauſed by other mens labours; and glory in a long ſeries of hewen-out marble, worthy memories of dead mens actions, hatefull ſepulchres of renowne to ſuch as live.

When Romulus *knew his deſcent, he was more violētly incenſt againſt the Tyrant, by whoſe death hee might appeaſe two powerfull affections, the one of Glory, the other of Revenge: He knows his forces too weake for open violence; hee hath recourſe to Stratagem. He took his way ſtraight to the Kings Palace, accompanied by many others, diſguiſed in poore apparel; being come thither, and encouraged by his brothers armed neighbourhood, he ſet upon the King, and ſlew him on that ſeate where hee*

hee had committed ſo many wickednesſes.

A Tyrant is to all men hatefull; he builds the whole body of his State upon the colums of feare; his ruines ariſe from either not fearing, or not being feared: confidence deſtroys him, fear ſecures him not; and oft-times when he thinks to abaſe mens hearts, he infuſes valour into them; for the greateſt daring proceeds from the greateſt feare; to talk againſt him is dangerous, to kill him ſafe; the action is eaſie to be effected which hath nothing of fearfull in it, but the act it ſelfe; it were more eaſie to kill a good Prince, if there were not more difficulty in having killed him; it were more dangerous to kill a Tyrant, were not the danger leſſe when he is ſlaine; who doth not for revenge adhere unto the fact, adheres for glory; no man appeares enemy to him that killed him, becauſe no man will ſeeme to be friend to him that was killed.

Numitor, *who was not ignorant of* Rhemus *his deſcent, and who by juſt,*

juſt, at leaſt juſtifiable pretences, had ſeconded the act committed, favoured by the guardianſhip of Rhemus *committed to his cuſtody, ſeeming ignorant that they had aſſaulted the King, though the Palace, with intention of purging, not of taking the Citie; ſummoned the Albian youths to defend the Tower; but when hee ſaw the two young men come towards him, calling a Councell, he related unto them how they had been brought up, how borne, how expoſed to the waters, and how ſaved.*

The young men ſaluted their Grandfather with title of King, the which was followed unanimouſly by all the reſt; as well for that it is uſuall in ſuch aſſemblies, for all to follow, where a few do but begin; as alſo for very commiſeration, which never forſakes infelicity.

To

TO have been hated by the Tyrant, is desert enough to purchase the good will of the people; to them, hee who is in danger is alwayes acceptable; they would alwayes raise him up, whom they see kept down, they have compassiõ on any one that suffers violence; where the fire of tyrannical hatred flames highest, there 'tis that the waters of popular favour showre downe; all men do more naturally desire to restore him to his state, from whom it was taken, than to adhere to him that tooke it; they have compassion on him, because there are but few that can use violence, and all those hate it that feare it; they help him, because a greater reward is expected for helping out of misery, than for applauding prosperity: Envy remaines to the happy for punishment, and losse: compassion to the miserable for comfort, and re-establishment; to restore Princes into their estates, hath alwayes the face of charity: but if self-interest concurre not therewithall, they are pittyed, not holpen; and then the envy which hurts not is punishment, though but a vaine one, to such as are fortunate; compassion,

which

which helps not, is a comfort, though unprofitable to man in misery.

Romulus & Rhemus *having made their Grand-father King, they turned their thoughts else-where.*

MAny know how to give a Kingdome to another, who know not how to brook a King; too uncouth a thing, it is to obey him, who through ones own means commands; to receive a Principality from another mans valour, is a kind of servitude; which necessitates a man, either to shew himselfe simple, or ingratefull: to satisfie their intolerable desires, is voluntarily to surrender up the Principality to them that gave it; not to humour them, is to hazard the surrendring of it up to them by force; for it is an easie thing for them who got a Kingdome for another, the same cunning not failing them, to get it for themselves; who hath once with good success imbrued his hands in Royall blood, feares not to venter the second time; and hee who was deprived of a Kingdome, is alwayes jealous, and fears that

that which hee knowes is feſable ; how can the obligation be cancel'd which one owes to him who hath got a Kingdome for him, if it be not to be paid but with the loſſe of the ſame Kingdome ; 'tis great diſcretion to keep far from that Soveraign, who cannot ſufficiently requite the obligation he oweth : benefits are alwayes willingly received, but the benefactors are not always willingly beheld ; and when the debt is ſuch as cannot be paid, as if upbraided with diſability, favour is often chang'd into hatred ; and then the obligation not being to be acquitted, they indeavour to acquit themſelves of the Obliger : Service which is received from an inferiour, argues weakneſſe, and challengeth great recompence, to equalize the recompence to the benefit received, is to equalize the receiver to the Benefactor ; the name of *Magnanimus* is loſt, and the name of ungratefull hardly wiped off ; thoſe benefits which are received from a Superiour, are willingly acknowledged, for acknowledgement is all hee expects, the which witneſſing the receivall of them, obliges to an addition of more.

Theſe

These respects, the motives of ambition, and incitements of glory, caused the generously minded young men, keepe aloofe off from their Grandfathers subjection.

TO expect a Kingdom after anothers death, hinders or retards glory; mens spirits with yeares grow cold, and during the fathers life, that a man may live secure, he often-times must live idle; Princes doe sometimes envy, yea, even the egregious deeds of their sons, because they feare them; private men rejoyce, because they share therein: amongst the good fortunes of valiant men, their parents speedy death ought to be accounted one; who after having brought them up, cannot do better for them then dye; a Kingdome is not to bee desired, if it bring not glory along with it; glory belongs to them who have won it with the sweat of their brow, not to those who receive it calmly from another; valiant men who are born fortunate, are unfortunate; for the inheritance of Monarchies takes away the glory of acquiring them.

They

They goe about to build a new Citie, or rather to build the wals of that which their generous actions brought along with them; to this purpose they chuse that place where they were exposed to waters, as I believe, either out of memory of their fortune, or out of gratitude.

The places choise shews the builders wisdome; the first stone they laid is a Touch-stone, by which the worth of their metall is tryed.

HEe is not to be praised, who to with-draw himself from the downy bed of idleness, hath recourse to the brutishness of sterility; one ought seek helpe from education, not scituation; that it may appear vertue, not necessity; the way of Merchandize makes men industrious, but withall timorous; and that Citie is in no good condition, the riches whereof consists among some particulars, not in the publike; where the riches

riches is lockt up in cheſts, not in the Common-wealth, when dangers come, men know not how to defend it, but ſtudy how they may quit it; and ſuch eſtates as are portable, ſet their owner at liberty, for they make them but inhabitants, not ſubjects.

Nor can it be affirmed, that the barrenneſſe of a place takes from its neighbours the deſire of dominion, which is the child of glory, not of avarice.

He that builds in ſtrong places, erects fortreſſes for tyrants, at leaſt neſts for vices; and they that live in ſecurity, want that feare of loſing their owne, which oft-times ſerves for juſt occaſion to uſurp anothers right; & on the contrary ſide, to build open Cities without wals, was a melancholy humour of ſome ancient Philoſopher, which neither deſerves diſcourſe nor imitation.

Romes *ſcituation was ful of health-inſpiring hills, not too farre diſtant from the ſea, that they might receive commodities; not too neer, that they might ſhun the inundations*

inundations of barbarous people; watered with a continuall running River, placed in the midſt of Italy.

They were ready to raiſe the walls of the Citie, when neither of them would yeeld in the naming thereof unto the other, nor in the making of Lawes. Equality, the producer of envy, had much more force in them; for that beyond the common equality amongſt brethren, they did particulariſe in being equally conceived, and equally at the ſame time born.

WHen any excuſe is to be found, ſeniority is allow'd of; many would yield, if they could find pretence to do ſo, and many times men contend more out of ſhame than pride

The mixture of greater and leſſe is good, but that of equals, ſtarke naught; either in the variety of nature it is not found requiſite, or elſe it laſts not in the world,

world; becauſe it is founded upon the perpetuity of motion; and inequality doth by ſo much the more differ from tolerable, by how much it comes near to equality; therefore is an uniſon diſpleaſing in muſicke, which though it were exquiſite, is unfruitfull; it makes no action, produces no harmony; the greater and leſſe, anſwer to the ſharp & flat; from thoſe the world receives its forme, from theſe muſick her ſweetneſſe, & each are damnified by the contrary, if it be diſſonant; profited, if it be harmonious

Since they could not finde on earth how to decide precedency, they ſeek to Heaven by auguries; Rhemus *on the Auventine hill*, Romulus *on the Palatine*; *& whilſt it is reported that ſix Vulturs appeared to* Rhemus, Romulus *ſhewes that number doubled to them that ſtood about him: ſome are of opinion, that from hence a contention riſing betwixt them,* Rhemus *was ſlain by* Romulus.

To

TO have an equall preferr'd by man; is a ſufficient anxiety, but therein may be deceit; to have the like preferr'd by heaven, makes the anxiety greater, becauſe it is alwayes truth: This accident was the firſt canker that introduced man-ſlaughter, and the firſt man-ſlaughter was between brethren.

The more common opinion, notwithſtanding is, that he loſt his life in leapin g by way of deriſion, over the walls his Brother built.

Rhemus *by this action, either declared himſelfe to be Prince, by pretending not to bee ſubject to any Lawes, or elſe intended to take the Principality from others, by making a mockery of the Lawes.*

MIſ-obſervancie differs from contempt; the one reflects upon the inſtitution, the other upon the inſtitutor; hee who covertly tranſgreſſeth the Laws, leaves the reputation of him that made them, untoucht; hee who openly

offend's

offends againſt them, aims more to weaken the Prince, then the Laws: Errors wch are occaſioned by whatſoever other affection, may be great or little; thoſe who are occaſioned by contempt, are alwayes giant-like, ſome of them reflect upon the profit of the ſubject, and it is good to puniſh them; others upon the Majeſty of the Superiour, and it is neceſſary to chaſtiſe them; Reſpect is the ſoul of government; a Prince fallen to neglect, is a dead carkaſſe.

Giving to the begun City, the beginning of his own name, he called it Rome, *and inſtituted paſtimes in the honour of* Hercules.

Lawes were yet wanting to a Citie, which, ful fraught with divers Nations, and of divers manners, could not without them receive unity.

LAwes are of divers ſorts, ſome aime at the preſervation of man-kind, others at the maintenance of the State; the former belong to Miniſters of law, as

as Judiciall; the latter to the Prince as politicall; the first requires ſtability, becauſe they are judiciouſly conſidered before they be made; but once being made, they ought not to be judged, ſince by them judgment is made. The other ſort to be good, ought not to be perpetuall, for that if they continue ſtill in force, they ruinate the State: and if they bee tranſgreſſed, as time neceſſitates, an ill example, without profit, is introduced; it ſufficeth not, not to obſerve the olde ones, when there is no way given to make new ones. The Prince is Superintendent over the lawes, not in that hee may not obſerve them, but in that hee may change them: Tranſgreſſions in whatſoever kind is naught; change in the latter is neeeſſary; the ſame meate doth not befit the ſame man at all ages, neither are maladies by the ſame meanes cured in the beginning, after a whiles duration, and when they grow worſe.

All things in this inferiour world have their periods; a man muſt change as time and occaſion require; moſt of States have run a hazzard, for not being able to beare with their oncient Ordina-

tions

tions, and not knowing how to alter them.

*Ministers to execute corporall punishmēt amongst the Romans.

Romulus *gives the Laws, he ſtrengthens them by force, threatned by the twelve* Lictors *which waited on him.*

LAw is of no uſe to perſwade, if it have no power to puniſh, otherwiſe it is too little for them that are naturally inclined to miſchiefe, too much for thoſe who voluntarily do well.

To Might, he addes Majeſty, figured by the grave habit which he wore, differing from the habit of other men.

ALl things (I had almoſt ſaid, that which hath no entity, but is very nothing) helpe thoſe who are of power enough in themſelves; ciphers meeting with ciphers make nothing; but if they meet with figures, they multiply; the habite makes him not venerable, whoſe

actions have not formerly made him ſo; he hath no Majeſtie, but what the eye allowes him by being accuſtomed to ſee him clad like men of Majeſty; and if by vertue of authority hee occaſions reverence, for want thereof hee moves deriſion.

Cloaths were made to cover the defects of the body, now they diſcover the affections of the mind; they were made to hide our weakneſſe, now they lay open our ambition; the Lord cloathed man, when he diſrobed himſelfe of originall righteouſneſſe, when hee became ſervant to ſin, and he (O fooliſhneſſe) glorieth in the enſignes of his ſlavery, as if they were trophies of his victory.

Romes *walls encreaſe, but there want inhabitants to people it, they proclaime Sanctuary, whither whoſoever, having committed what fault ſoever, might have ſafe recourſe.*

Quietneſſe is an enemy to new built Cities, all hope conſiſts in motion;

on; people who are not apt to live in Cities, are apt to fight in the field; and who knowes not how to bee a good Citizen, proves oft-times a good Souldier: Rome *might rather be called the Randezvouz of an Army, than an Assembly of Citizens, for it was not built for commodious living, but to bee made greater by such, whose ends were not safety, but glory.*

AN Armie is an *Academie*, where the wilder spirits are disciplined in open field, that they may afterwards be brought within the compasse of wals; to those who command in Armies, Cities seeme distastfull, not to those that serve in them as common souldiers; for the rigour of military obedience, makes the yoke of civill life seem sweet.

It was not long ere it was repleniſht with inhabiters; novelty is a light which hath the vertue to draw eyes unto it, &

power to daſh them. Men, becauſe of neceſſity they muſt dye, looke not willingly upon ſuch things as inclining towards the Sun-ſet, bring to their minds this neceſſity, but willingly upon ſuch as riſing with the Sun, gives them belief of augmentation; men write their names in tender plants, becauſe they grow; not in aged Okes, becauſe they are cut downe.

Did not Novelty bring with it ſo many prerogatives, the world would grow old with the ſame things wherewith it did begin, our wits would be barren, were they deprived of invention, which makes them fruitfull; our underſtandings grow vilified with known things, and conceive things unknowne greater than they are.

All ſuch as did neither envy nor fear Rome, *flockt together, ſome for ſafety-ſake, ſome delighted with novelty, ſome perſwaded by the deſire of change, ſome of glory.*

Spritely

SPritely wits are ſeldom content with the preſent condition. Felicity is alwayes ſought for in things wee want, which when we get, wee finde her not; men cannot ſatisfie their deſires, no not with the accompliſhment thereof; they thinke they may once be happy, when they can never be ſo; hence is occaſioned the hatred of tranquility, the deſire of motion, the loathing of preſent things, and ſeeking after future.

The greateſt part of this people came to amend the condition they were borne in, under the fortunate conduct of *Romulus*.

Novelty hath power enough to draw men unto her, but not to keepe them; ſhee, when her ſelfe ſuddenly is gone, cannot detaine others long, unleſſe ſhee inſnare them in the bird-lime of profit, or take them in the net of ambition.

To this purpoſe Romulus *choſe an hundred Senators for Companions, a number ſufficient to govern whatſoever State, and equall to*

their number, to whom all other forme of others command would have been insupportable.

IN the beginning of government, every small authority seemes great; in the continuance thereof, however great it be, it seems little; whence it proceeds, that in time those Magistrates are not endured, which were too greedily at first created.

Liberty and Principality are incompatible, they meet not together, or if they doe, they last not; every one seeks his own perfection, which depending upon the destruction of another, they seeke it there: It seems strange to the Senate, that they should be free, and yet serve; Strange to the Prince, that hee should be chiefe Lord, and not command; the meane of Liberty is the mother of Tyrants, which being to them intolerable, whilst by violence it is taken away, it inforceth withall a violent government; to live quietly, it behoves either to be totally free, or totally tyed to servitude.

To

To Romes *intire perfection women were wanting; they concur to the eſſentiall conſtitution of families, families to the like of Cities:* Rome *had more of forme than matter;* Romans *lived there, but there were no* Romans *born.*

WHere men live, and none are borne, death muſt enſue, and no new births follow: Parents live againe in the children, which they produce; man hath no greater deſire than this nor Nature greater neceſſity: the ſpecies remaines, if not the individuall; the matter remaines, if not the forme: it is an errour of underſtanding, to believe that woman is an errour of Nature; ſhe is perfect, ſince ſhe is made for the perfecteſt of works, ſhe is of forme equall to us; originally compoſed of more noble matter than we.

Rome *might bee called a circuit of of walls, not a City; it was rather a ſepulcher, ſince there being an*

impossibility of mans being there born, they must there only dye.

And who was there to be found, who by granting them women, would co-operate to the greatness of this people, and deprive themselves of those armes to extinguish them, which their singleness of life administred?

Romulus *was not ignorant of this difficulty, hee notwithstanding sent Embassadours to his neighbours, either to obtain some justly, or to take them away by force.*

HEe who is necessitated to use violence, hath first been violenced by necessity; of all Lawes necessity is most odious, of all justice the most rigorous.

The neighbouring people angry that the Romans *had received those whom they had driven away, deny to send them women; & some giving*

giving way to anger, ſeeme to ſlight them with words, I know not whether fuller of ignorance or weakneſſe.

THey are little to be feared, whoſe tongues ſerve them for ſwords; greater is the danger which is threatned by ſilence, than the offence given, by overmuch talk.

Anger which ſhewes it ſelfe, is kindled in the ſpirits, not in the humours; and like powder it raiſes fire, but doth not retaine, it carries it out, keeps it not within; choler which vents it ſelfe by the mouth, doth not vent it ſelfe by hands; a myne which finds a vent, vapours away, makes no breach: to offend with deeds, is hoſtility, with words, malignity; the one is profitable to the Enemy, the other fruitleſſe; and dammage is more ſupportable then evill-ſpeaking, becauſe it is more reaſonable.

The anſwer, which together with dammage was accompanied with

diſ-reſpect, cauſed no ſmall indignation amongſt the Romans; *to make uſe of revenge, they betake themſelves to diſſimulation.*

Romulus *faines himſelfe ſicke, they dedicate ſports to his recovery, & prepare for them with magnificence.*

The neighbouring people, together with their Women, flocke to ſee the ſight, thinking belike, with ſafety to preſent meate to the famiſhed.

GReat was the error certainly which was the cauſe thereof; ſince that too much weakeneſſe ſprung from too great confidence, or too great raſhneſſe, from too little valuation; to deny the *Romans* women, yet bring them to *Rome*; to truſt to them who they had deſpiſed; not to fear the violence of neceſſity, was one of thoſe follies occaſioned by curioſity. Curioſity, if devoted to the delight

delight of ſenſe is not praiſe-worthy; if to the delight of the underſtanding, it may admit excuſe; it is never free from blame, if accompanied with danger; too much and too little thereof, argue equal weakeneſſe.

Women are made to ſtay at home, not to wander abroad, their delights ought to be, what delights their husbands, by participation, not propriety: to bring them abroad to Feſtivals, moves them that looke upon them, to undervalue them, if they be ill-favoured, if handſome, to luſt after them; look how many friends they get unto themſelves, ſo many enemies procure they unto their husbands; within doors they may help, without doores they cannot but bee a trouble; their converſation if it be pleaſing to them, who there they find, is for the moſt part diſpleaſing to them that brought them thither: Though they ſuffer not in coveting, they ſuffer in being coveted; if their company be ſhun'd who with your misfortune, why is theirs purſued who wiſh your diſhonour? The vanity of men herein, is more than it is of women; they thinke

think to make themſelves be envied, and are caught in a nooſe, when at leaſt in ſteed of envy remaines compaſſion. It is true, that many value not what they poſſeſſe, if others know it not, but it is of leſſe value, if by making it knowne they loſe it; Reputation is a choiſe colour, which feares the aire; it is a tranſparant Chryſtall, which is dim'd, being looked upon by ſuch as are laſciviouſly given: All occaſions of dangers ought alwayes to be ſhunned, where the danger trenches upon Honour.

The ſpectators were intent upon the ſports; when the ſigne being given, the young men of Rome *laid hold upon the ſtranger-women; their friends flye, complain of violated faith; they call for vengeance to their gods, at whoſe paſtimes they were abuſed.*

They ought rather to blame themſelves then others, more for being cauſe of their being taken away, than for their being taken away.

It

IT is by ſo much more inſufferable to loſe by deceit than by force, by how much it is better to be overcome by the body, than by the underſtanding: In force we have no ſhame, becauſe it is altogether without us, but coſenage is by the policy of others, built upon the foundation of our owne inconſiderateneſſe: Wounds occaſioned by force, are aſſwaged by their occaſion, Fortune; thoſe which are cauſed by deceit, are aggravated by complaining of the occaſion, Improvidency.

Nor were the Virgins leſſe incenſt thã were their fathers; Romulus *perſwades them with arguments drawn from the efficacy of neceſſity; their husbands appeaſe them with faire words, drawn from the power of Love, which coupled with admiratiõ; force was now no more complained of, being accompanied with the praiſe of beauty; the which being numbred amongſt the happineſſes of Women, left them*

them no cauſe to complaine of being unfortunate. Matrimony had already mitigated the Rape, and the mariage bed quieted the minds of the Sabine dames, when their frends clad all in mourning, joyning anger to calamity, did incite their neighbours; & incenſing the whole body of the people, they aſſembled themſelves before Titus Tatius, *a Sabin King, where the Councell being met, wee may ſuppoſe that one of them, who was abuſed at the aforeſaid ſports, ſpoke in this manner.*

THe Romans demanded women, and you denyed them; it was not ſure an effect of chance, if you all agreed in the denyall; are then the reaſons of their denyall now ceaſed, becauſe they are violently taken from you? ought that be granted to force, which was denied to love? wee that were deafe to their intreaties, ſhal we be blind to their violence? wee refuſed to heare their ſupplications with

patience.

patience, ſhall wee endure their out-rages with ſtupidity? ſhewing them, that with us, whilſt to take by violence is ſafe, there is nothing dangerous but to demand.

They make neceſſity a cloake for their out-rage, that neceſſity which had wont heretofore to bee the ſhield of the unfortunate, and the cheering, or encouraging of the fearfull, is now become the cloake of thoſe who are fortunate, and the incitement of the raſh; they took from us our Citizens under title of ſafety, they forc't from us our women, under colour of marriage; they will likewiſe ſeize our Cities by claim of dowry: as they have had need of our daughters to encreaſe their numbers, ſo will they have need of our Countreyes to encreaſe their eſtate. And ſay the deſire of reign ſhould ceaſe amongſt the Romans, their once having offended us, will ſerve for provocation to them, to offend us at all times. Favours conferr'd on any one, are renewed, thereby to continue the memory of the former: Injuries are multiplyed to ſecure ones ſelf for thoſe already done. He who hath done wrong, can hardly become a friend, becauſe he thinks the wrong'd party can never become his friend: where friendſhip is not hoped for, & injury hath beene received, nothing but

revenge

revenge is to be had; the which retarded prolongs, but makes the danger greater, by taking away the advantage of prevention.

Whatſoever is ſuffered by force, though ſometimes good effects enſue, is always harmfull, becauſe either it proceeds from envy or contempt: neither doth patience ſerve the party injured for ought elſe, but to make them more inſolent who account it weakneſſe; and to incourage them to offend yet more hainouſly thoſe who eaſily beare injuries already done; if the ſuffering of injuries would cauſe quiet, it would argue great wiſdome to paſs by them; but without any other profit, it makes the injured parties be eſteemed, or fooliſh, or cowards; as if they either wanted wit to know them, or courage to revenge them; whĕce men loſe both compaſſion and feare, affections only able to refraine affections in worldly men.

Rome *had her beginning in the midſt of us, and we deſpiſe her; ſhee augmenteth, and we nouriſh her; we give her life, ſhee threatens our death: thoſe who ſaw her in her beginning, fore-ſeeing the danger that might enſue to their Poſterity, left the care thereof to their poſterity; and as a thing which threatned all, every one fell to behold her,*

more

none to hinder her : in common evills private men feare not, and in future events, men looke for helpe from Time and Fortune.

The eye which beholds novelty, leaves no ſpace for the underſtanding to judge the danger, till it be ſo far advanced as there is no remedie for it ; the errours of ſlothfulneſſe are then diſcerned, when all diligence is bootleſſe.

It is a falſe opinion held by melancholy men, to give the title of Wiſedome to delay ; moſt buſineſſes ſuffer ſhip-wracke, becauſe occaſions are haſty, and men ſlow ; men talke of the preſent time, when 'tis already paſt : moments ought not to be neglected, when upon theſe moments, an eternity depends.

In things which are arrived at full perfection, if not their finall end, at leaſt their decaying age may in time be expected : but in things which but begin to encreaſe, to expect, is as much as to give time that they may encreaſe. If a Traveller meet with a River at its head, when it is yet but a ſmall brooke, he ſhould do ill to travell further along it, till he muſt ferry it over where it is become a large ſtreame. Rome is a little Rivelet, our people like torrents flocke thither, we muſt fight, not

not diſcourſe, and fight with Romans, *before that* Romans *become a race of* Sabins, *before our enemies become our kinsfolke: haſt is the beſt remedy, where time is the greateſt enemie.*

This man having ended his diſcourſe, we may believe that Titus Tatius *anſwered in this manner.*

YOu ought either to have granted women to the Romans, *or elſe have fought againſt their Citie, and gone unto their ſports with troops of armed men, not of young girls. I expected they ſhould have come within our walls to take them from us by force, had not you gone within their walls to offer them to their rapine; hee who denies another what of neceſſity he muſt have, having gain-ſaid intreaties, ought prepare for violence.*

To endeavour Romes *ruine by force, was a wiſe conſideration, but dangerous; for your owne more ſafeties ſake, you reſolved to deny them women: Good reſolutions are ſeldome taken all together, in all things dangers doe appeare, and to ſecure our ſelves from evill, good is done by halfes, and the halfe of that good is not good, which conſiſting*

ſting in the whole, admits of no diviſion. To renew things now irrepairable, and which cannot be diverted, is to believe ones ſelfe greater than the gods, and a labour without profit, or rather accompanied with loſſe, ſince thereby wee call to minde thoſe things, the chiefeſt happineſſe whereof conſiſts in forgetfulneſſe.

Rome *may be ſaid to have its riſe and its increaſe from us, and it is fatall that fathers ſhould loſe in the having of children; drawing neerer to death, by giving life to others, if it be true that the generation of one be the coeruption of another.*

'Tis true, there ought a remedy bee had for the appearing danger; but I not commend the repairing of paſt errours, cauſed by delay, with new, and greater cauſed by impatiency.

Injuries received, tend to the ruine of men, who with the zeale of honour doe not accompany wiſedome; they runne upon revenge for paſt wrongs, and throw themſelves headlong upon new miſeries; they would amend one errour, and produce a thouſand.

Too much haſt is as much before time, as too much delay is out of time. Errors of impatience

impatience are worse than errours of delay: for it is better to shun precipices, than to run upon them: if they be not hindred, they are retarded. Justice is not believed to be there, where violence is observed to be: nor can it be accounted wisdome, where there is no argumentation. Argumentation is not had in an instant; Time is not measured by instants. Wisdome is the daughter of Cold, Violence of Heat; things which have not beene done in times past, may well be effected in times to come: but things already done, cannot be undone againe: occasions are never wanting to men, but men are wanting to occasions: they may bee expected, they ought not to bee prevented.

He who fights, egged on by Fury, begins his warre for having lost; he satisfies his affection, not his duty; and is sooner beaten by his owne weakenesse, than by anothers valour.

Our forbearance is to be feared, not despised: the world is his who hath patience, when it proceeds from sagacity, not timidity. Generous spirits addresse themselves to endure present injuries, out of hope of future revenge: they reserve their anger to vindicate offences, not to evaporate passion. Dissimulation

lation is not to be blamed, when by the injury of Time, it is not transformed into oblivion; diſſimulation is never worſe, than when it becomes forgetfulneſſe, never better than when it reſembles it.

It is more ſafe to hinder the increaſe of Rome, *than her ſubſiſtancy; for it is eaſier to let her waxe olde, than cauſe her dye: encreaſe is not there bad, where there is no motion; nor can* Cities *in peace, increaſe and receive nouriſhment; new Plantations are augmented by the ruine of old ones; and tender plants, which are hindered by the ſhade and rootes of neighbouring trees, want force to grow up.* Rome *cannot grow greater without the ruine of our Cities; nor can they ruine our Cities without Warre: to wage arms to deſtroy her, may afford matter for her encreaſe. All fires are not ſuppreſt by ruines, nor quencht by blood; that fire which wanteth nouriſhment, wanteth life; and where of it ſelfe it muſt needs goe out, it needs not the ruine of others.*

All induſtry ought to bee uſed to have peace with a people, who can never have a worſe warre than peace: faire pretences are not wanting to cloake our received injuries. Neceſſity commits no offence, kindred are not

enemies

enemies; matrimony is no rape; let injuries done unto the gods, be left unto the gods; 'tis they were injured, not man; and if men, not Cities: and though Cities, recourſe ought not therefore be had to armes: to revenge injuries, to reward good turnes, love and hatred are the affections of private men, Common-wealths and States have private intereſts for the ſpheare of their actions, beyond the which they neither ſee nor heare, it is the object of their ſences, the mover of their affections, the ruler of their paſſions.

The diſcord cauſed between *Titus Tatius* his ſickneſſe, and the peoples impatiency, was good harmony for *Romes* increaſe, for if ſhe were likely to be loſt, if ſet on only by the *Sabine* Forces, what thinke you would have become of her, when they ſhould have been aſſiſted by ſo many other confederates?

Sundry people aſſembled together to worke the ſame end, doe not alwayes endeavour it with the ſame end; lines which meet all in one point, goe not all the ſame way; they often meet, and yet differ.

Theſe men will overthrow this frame, but becauſe each one puts it upon anothers backe, none move it.

WHere there is ſtore of pates, there is ſtore of confuſion; many ſtones of not above three inches thicke, may raiſe a height of a thouſand yards; but the uniting of many wits, ſerve not to the advancement of one underſtanding: they help not, they hinder one another: nor is it true, that two eyes joyned, ſee more than one, if one ſee more than both diſ-joyned, when the greateſt ſphear of the eyes motion, is underſtood to be the greateſt diſtance.

In ſuch an aſſembly there cannot bee ſo good a reſolution had, but will become bad, if obſerved but by a few; nor ſo bad, which may not prove exceeding good, if obſerved by all; wiſe men ought alwayes to counſell the beſt, yet ſometime follow the worſt, if the worſt bee the opinion of the moſt.

The

The Cernetians, Cruſtumanians, *and thoſe of* Antenna, *depart no wayes contented with the* Sabins *ſlow reſolutions: and the* Cernetians *more impatient than the reſt, enter the* Roman *territories to ranſacke them.*

THe deſire of revenge is more eager than any other affection, yea, more than love it ſelfe, for that the blood is more active in the arteries, than in the veines; Choler hath no commerce with Wiſdome, ſhee is companion to audacity, ſhe levels precipices, makes mountaines valleys: The cholerick man fears not, becauſe hee lookes upon rhe object only how he may offend it, not how he may by it be offended; his eyes are alwayes on the extreames, he ſees not the middle; and oft-times falls, becauſe hee knows not that hee can fall; all his ſpirits flocke to aſſiſt him, making him believe hee is able to doe more than indeed he is, and hindering one another, hee oft-times is of leſſe ability than uſuall: hee thinkes upon nothing but how to

quench

quench that fire that burns, nor finds he other water to quench it withall, than that of revenge; hee runs for remedie to him that first did kindle it, that by his blood he may extinguish it, nor doth he stop, till it be thus fed, or by feare quite put out.

Romulus *makes towards them, teaching them how vaine that anger is, which is not sustained by forces. Hee overcomes them, treads them under foote, kills their Leader, takes their Citie, and brings home his victorious Army.*

Romulus *was no lesse daring in his actions, than eloquent in his speech; valiant in doing brave things, wary in assisting them with faire appearances.*

GReat actions have need of help, else they will be suffocated by simplicity: where wonder is conceived, thence proceeds reverence.

It is eaſie to adde to the greatneſſe of actions by words; to truth by appearances, and it is not amiſſe. A Prince obliges himſelfe to things greater than he hath yet done, if hee make them not ſeeme leſſe, than what they are believed to be; to adde to petty actions, moves laughter, and merits the name of vanity; to aſſiſt actions of a middle condition, cauſes admiration, and immortall fame.

He cauſed the enemies ſpoiles be erected, and from top of the Capitoll did dedicate them, together with a Temple, to Jupiter Feretreus.

Whilſt the Romans *were buſied about ſuch ſolemnities, thoſe of* Antemna *did in hoſtile manner forrage their Countrey: the* Romans *without delay, bring forth a Squadron of men againſt them, and eaſily defeated them, who of ſpoilers became a ſpoile; & they which*

which lay in wait for the goods of other men, loſt their own Caſtle; but Erſiglia, Romulus *his Wife, ſolicited by the tears of thoſe women which had been violently detained, by profitable entreaties perſwaded her triumphant husband to pardon thoſe who were their parents, and kinsfolke, and to receive them into the City.*

THis manner of making the conquered companions; to receive for Citizens, thoſe whom the ſame day they had ſeen as enemies: did make the waging of Warre more eaſie to other people, but made it more difficult to overcome in warre; it increaſed the deſire of combate, but took from the heat of fighting, where it was a queſtion, whether were the greater reward to overcome, or be overcome, whilſt they who loſt, acquired the honour of being a Citizen of *Rome.*

Whoſoever ſhall read the *Roman* Hiſtories, conſidering their ways of growing greater, will either believe that they did ill, or elſe will blame thoſe who

now adayes having Monarchies, and needefull of people doe rather drive away former forerunners, than they are perſwaded to receive in new ones, wherunto they have by ſome beene ſolicited; but the diverſity of circumſtances hath not given applauſe to ſuch counſels. The Romans by taking people of the ſame Province, may bee rather ſaid to have framed one body out of many members, than out of many bodies; their being under the ſelfe-ſame clime of the ſame language, and little or nothing differing in matters, freed them from tumults: their union was the more ſecured, by their being all new & tender, eaſie to be joyned together, as it fals out in young childrens bones: their love was the more ſecured by calling them to Senators places, & other commands in the Citie; for being ſtraitned by wars, they were eaſily perſwaded to accept of their enemies company, when being come to a greater growth, they refuſed the ſociety even of their friends: Strangers may be received for companions, where there is a form of Common-wealth, or body of a Senate; but where there is an abſolute

lute Monarchy, they cannot be accepted of, but as ſervants. They therefore doe wiſely, who having paſſed their younger years, in which it was neceſſary to receive into their bodie people of different language, climate and manners; do not call in ſtrangers to enjoy, or without all peradventure, to trouble what they have with their ſweat wonne.

Thoſe of Antemna *being vanquiſhed, the* Cruſtumanians *take armes, and were ſoone overcome, fighting more out of feare than out of hope; diſheartned & made weake by their neighbours loſſes.*

THe glory of the firſt Warres had its riſe from valour, of the reſt from reputation; to have overcome in theſe, avails as much as to overcome in thoſe: An Armie which feares to loſe the day, is already beaten by its own beliefe; each noiſe the enemy makes, ſeems victory; each motion of its owne men, flight; ſuch an Armie is more prepared for what it feares, than for what it hopes; and oft-times it leaves the field,

more for that it feares to loſe, than for that it hath loſt: he who alwayes thinks to overcome, fights alwayes; but he that doubts, defends himſelfe, but fights not.

Romulus *knowing that things wonne by valour, muſt be maintained by wiſdome, cauſed the Senate be aſſembled, where I may ſuppoſe he ſpake in this manner.*

TO conquer people, and not know how to make the victory beneficiall; to win ſubjects, and not be able to keepe them in ſubjection, is a loſſe both of men and time. Providence is neceſſary, and 'tis laborious.

Meanes are not wanting, but thoſe means are full of difficulties; were there any infallible rule found, whereby to ſecure ones ſelfe from the rebellions of ſuch as are under him, I believe the world ere long would belong to one only man, but in politicke affairs there is no rule but fortune.

To captivate mens minds with rewards is impoſſible; ſervitude cannot bee rewarded with any other recompence, than being ſet at liberty: to tye them by an oath is no way ſafe;

they

ney are not ſubjects, whoſe power is only ſubject to will; Liberty is naturall, ſervitude violent; what is violent needs ſome-what, which from without may withſtand it, if its beginning be not occaſioned from ſome internall cauſe.

To raze the walls of ſtrong Cities, when ſubdued, encourageth ſtrangers to make themſelves maſters of them; to leave them ſtanding, facilitates the inſurrection of Citizens; and ſay it were a good advice for places that are within the body of the State, it is undoubtedly bad for frontier places, where it is hard ſo to doe, as that they may be of defence againſt the enemie, and not ſubject to the rebellion of friends: he leaves mens minds apt to commotions, who takes not from them all meanes of defence.

Thoſe who ſend Garriſons thither, or build Caſtles there, endeavour to maintaine them by force, and often-times loſe them voluntarily, they ſecure themſelves from ſtrangers, and put themſelves into the hands of their own people, over whom they loſe the authority of command, becauſe they loſe the power of puniſhment; they free themſelves from the danger of Citizens, they ſubmit themſelves to the fidelity of a Captaine; and he,

though he may thinke it ignominious to deliver up the Citie to an Enemie, may think it may be born withall, if he keep it for himself.

He who builds fortreſſes in weake Cities, depends alſo too much upon the too mutable faith of the Captaine; nor can they much hinder him that is Maſter of the field, as being only uſefull to curb unarmed Citizens, of no uſe againſt armed enemies.

To ſend Colonies to work this effect, more incenſes the ancient inhabitants, and protects the new ones but for a ſmall time: they are plants tranſplanted, they ſoon accommodate themſelves to the Countrey, from whence their roots receive nouriſhment. They forget their originall in all things, ſave in their deſire to be no more ſubjects, but companions.

Men who goe from their owne homes, to plant themſelves in new places, goe not thither to be ſervants to them who ſend them thither, but companions and equalls to thoſe who remaine behind.

To keepe armies ſtill on foote, to ſuffocate ſullevations in the cradle, is the greateſt, & would be the beſt remedie, if then it were not in the Generalls choiſe to make a Commonwealth a Monarchy, & himſelf Lord thereof.

He that were alwayes ſure to return victo-

rious,

rious, needed no other meanes to ſecure himſelfe; if enemies be vanquiſhed, friends are retarded, becauſe their feare is greater, and their ſhame leſſe: but the ſucceſſe of warre is uncertaine; and it is almoſt certaine that rebellions ſucceed overthrows.

I ſhould thinke the beſt courſe for the preſent, is to ſend abroad Colonies, by ſo doing, the Citie will be free from beggars; nor will any couragiouſly minded man leave Rome, while ſhe is bent upon glorious actions; and the people round about our walls being ſubjected unto us by keeping an Army alwayes on foot, we ſhal ſecure them from their enemies, our ſelves from rebellions.

According to Romulus *his opinion, Colonies were appointed for ſuch places as were wonne.*

This meane while the Sabins *waged War againſt the* Romans; *a War the more to bee feared, by how much the later it was undertaken, being governed by reaſon, deprived of its firſt cholericke violence, nor ſooner taken notice of, than in the field.*

The Sabins *ſeeke rather to ſecure their State, than to vent their anger; they aſſault the City, not the Citizens, that they may bring it in ſubjection, without intention of revenge.*

The fear of Romes *greatneſſe, cauſes them to move: their rage for the committed violence, the originall thereof.*

STates that enjoy reſt & quiet, becauſe they are in league and friendſhip with all their Neighbours, have great good fortune if they meete with any occaſion of offence, and wiſe men in ſuch like occaſion of offence ſeek after them; for the common people will not be perſwaded to more than what they ſee: they judge by the eye, not the underſtanding, nor is there any argument with them of force enough to gain-ſay appearance. To keepe friendſhip with neighbours is exceeding good, but hereupon to build the ſecurity of a State, is paſſing bad: they are well held for friends, if they be con-

conſidered as enemies, that ſo they may be bound to love, and not able to hurt; the height of that building, which is delightfull and pleaſing, when one thinks to enjoy it for an habitation, is diſpleaſing, if hee looke it ſhould fall upon his head.

The Sabins *by deceit get into the Citadell of* Rome, *having by gold corrupted the daughter of* Spurius Tarpeius, *Captaine thereof; not without the death of the trecherous young woman; whether it were out of hatred of the treaſon, or did they feare miſchiefe by the example, or were it for that they did expect great glory, by making men believe they had wonne it by force, and not by fraud.*

THe obligation which remains, ſowrs the ſweet of a benefit, which either is rewarded, and then as good a turne is done to the benefactour, or elſe the badg of ingratitude remains, which is equall ſhame

ſhame to the benefit received : thoſe benefits ſeeme ſweete which are received by Treaſon, which is a thing ſo hatefull, as it takes all merit from whatſoever action : A Traytor cannot finde fault without accuſing himſelfe ; ingratitude becomes praiſe, reward, blame ; and thus depriving men of hope, a new benefit is received from being ingratefull.

The Capitoll being poſſeſt, the next day they give battell, in the plaine, between the hill of the Capitoll, and the Palatine hill ; where by the death of Hoſtilius, *who oppoſed himſelfe to* Mutius, *the upholder of the* Sabine *Squadrons, the* Romans *began to give backe.*

Romulus *borne along by them that fled, made a ſtand upon the Palatine hill ; hee vowes a Temple to* Jupiter, *and prayes to him for victory, wherein hee is not wanting in his own endeavours.*

In

IN vaine doe men call to Heaven for help, when they withſtand the helpes of Heaven; many do invoke it, and yet do hinder it; they require helpe from others, and doe abandon themſelves, and by their deeds contrarying their words, they ſhew not to deſire what they have entreated, and to have intreated that they might not be heard.

Romulus *gives on where the danger is greateſt; the moſt hardy follow him; they drive* Metius *into a mooriſh ground, where both parties meet with all their forces, the one to ſuccour their Captaine, the other to oppreſſe the enemie.*

THe death of valiant Leaders, is the loſſe of battles, the danger of death is the cauſe of Victory; all runne to the battle, as well out of hopes of reward, by freeing of him, as feare of loſſe in loſing of him; all dangers ought to bee ſhunned, when the State is in ſafety.

The buſineſſe was doubtfull, when amidſt blood and dead bodies the Sabine *women came running forth, treading under foote their owne feare, with the fear they had of others; with hairs about their eares, their garments rent, and turned towards their brethren, towards their Parents.*

TOo late, ſaid they, is rape revenged, now when Violence is turned to love, Rape to Matrimony, and by that Matrimony children are had; wee are mothers, wee are wives; who is it you will revenge, if there be none that ſuffers offence, but in being revenged? You cannot redreſſe our loſſes, and you take from us our recompence, you revenge our long agoe loſt Virginity, by bereaving us of the fruits we have thereby received, you revenge your ſiſters Rape, with the ſlaughter of your brethren in law, if you deſire revenge, pardon the innocent; let them only ſuffer death, who are the occaſions of ſo great evils. Though we be without fault, it may in ſome ſorti be termed a fault, to have been the occaſion of

great miſchiefe. Wherefore endeavour you with your weapons to pierce our husbands bowels? they love your ſiſters, but we your enemies.

Cut off theſe arms, which have ſo oft ſerved for chains about their necks; pierce theſe breaſts which give ſucke unto your enemies; let the injuries of kiſſes and embraces be cancelled by wounds and blood. O how much more unhappy are we in being revenged, than in being raviſhed; deare husbands caſt away your weapons, ſuffer your ſelves to be ſlaine, in a Warre where it is more glorious to loſe, than to overcome, where victory is parricide.

Such like, and more ardent paſſions proceeded from the mouths and eyes of the grieved Sabine *women, when both ſides made a ſtand, either inchanted by their laments, or induced thereunto by danger, which being equall, they ſtood more in need of interpoſall, than perſwaſion.*

There

THere hath alwayes been a ſcarcity of men, who love to interpoſe themſelves in buſineſſe; the ſhame of yeelding hath ruinated more Princes, than the coveting to overcome; how many are there that have caſt away themſelves, for want of ſome that would diſſwade them?

Heat and cold meet together in lukewarme; for contraries often joyne, if they have a meane: But thoſe who want a meane, never unite, but conſume one another.

In the already wearied affairs, and dangerous to all ſides, wiſe men doe willingly intercede, and are rather the occaſion, than the cauſe of accommodation, for hee eaſily ſuffers himſelfe to bee perſwaded by another, who was already perſwaded by himſelfe; contrary Elements, when they are weary of fighting, appeaſe themſelves in mixture.

Forc'd

FOrc'd marriages amongſt Strangers, begin with warre, and end in peace, becauſe they have thoſe women alwayes as Mediatours for peace, who firſt cauſed the Warre. Voluntary marriages amongſt friends, are worſe; they ſerve for ballance to ſome preſent accommodation; they begin in laughter, and end in teares; but they are worſt of all, when they are violent, enforc't betweene Enemies; for ſuch matches having not any one good moment, the tyes of love ſerve for incitement of hatred.

The uproare being ceaſed, the one and the other Captaine meet in the midſt to become friends; and as not hatred alone, but rather deſire of rule, had ſhare in the war, ſo had it alſo place in the peace.

OH the deceitfulneſs of man, which makes the deſire of governement ſeeme neceſſity of revenge; there is too great a difference betweene the true, and

and pretẽded cauſe, the formers thoughts are wholly bent upon the State, the latters upon particular perſons; the one after a little vent, having anger for its ground, vaniſheth; the other keeps ſtill its ſtation, becomes hereditary in our poſterity; by acquiring what it deſires, it encreaſeth; the end ſerves for a beginning, and ſometime ſerves for the occaſionall means, and for ſuch a covetous deſire, the world is too narrow: we doe deſtroy our owne deſires, we hinder our end whilſt we do endeavour it, & as it were inhumane in the moſt humane affection. wee kill thoſe out of a deſire of rule, which being dead cannot be ruled. What other paſſion is there in man, by ſeeking to ſatisfie the which, part of that is loſt, which is able to ſatisfie? This affection was placed in all men, to render the rule over all difficult, to one alone; nor would this peradventure ſuffice, did not every one hinder it in himſelfe; facilitating his being overcome, by overcomming; our very body it ſelfe, whilſt wee endeavour that it may live, wee bring it nearer death, ſo as we cannot ſo much as therein overcome our enemies, without loſſe of our friends. The

The victory which by Phyſick we obtaine over our diſeaſes, weakens us more and more, and at the laſt, we loſe at once with as much facility, as at another time we were with violence victorious: wee have need of as much force to keepe a State, as to win it. People which are overcome by blood, in being ſubjected, make the Conquerour ſubject to ſervice, by their loſſe they hinder his rule, they put a period to his victory; things ſublunary are not eternall, becauſe all who are actors by winning, loſe and ſuffer by working. Thoſe Princes may be called fortunate, who inherit their States; thoſe wiſe, who finding them full of male-contents, wind themſelves ſmoothly into them: thoſe moſt happy, who without loſſe of blood by reputation only, or ſome ſuch like means, make themſelves maſters of them; theſe like Rivers, the further they goe, the greater they become, whereas they who have neede to uſe force in conquering, loſe it by uſing it; and like Bees, whilſt they hurt another, loſe their ſting.

Theſe

These end the warre, joyning together with their minds, their Cities; a more profitable agreement for Rome, *because shee thereby grew greater, than would have been the victory which would have lessened her.*

The Sabins *would free their Countrey of one infirmity; and drawing from out of her, her best bloud, they expose her to death by every little accident; they would extinguish* Rome, *and they make her greater; they bring stones, to stone withall, and they use them for building; the chiefe* Sabins *become Senators;* Titus Tatius *partner with the King.*

HEe might well enough have knowne by the example of *Rhemus*, that it was safer to bee *Romulus* his Enemie, than his Companion.

Examples

Examples, if they be of actions which have had good ſucces, they make us more fervent in them; and though of ſuch as have had bad events, they make us not notwithſtanding ceaſe to goe on, becauſe men have greater hope of good fortune, than feare of bad; they faigne a likelihood, where there is none, and where it is, they make diverſity appeare, either to encourage, or not diſhearten themſelves.

Titus Tatius *ſuffers himſelfe to bee blinded, by being made compaon in the Kingdome; hee quits his ancient Scepter, where hee ruled alone, to ſhare in anothers; Hee drinkes the poyſon, becauſe the cups brim is ſweetned; hee perceives not how* ROME *grows, becauſe himſelf is the cauſer of it.*

THere is nothing ſo pleaſing to man as this, no coſenage that equals it; it is the overthrow of the wiſeſt, the ruine of them that are moſt powerfull, we

do not in a ſtraight line ſee in our ſelves things which are within us, but by reflection in others; ones owne beauty is not knowne without a glaſſe; and hee whom wee have raiſed to greatneſſe, is the glaſs wherein we ſee our own greatneſſe; his greatneſs is with contentment beheld, and greater he would be ſeene, not for that it is he, but that wee thinke it is our ſelves; he is not ſuſpected, becauſe ingratitude is not expected from him; he is not feared, becauſe hee is not valued, to throw downe ſeemes to bee more eaſie then to build up; it is true, that Towers which are raiſed on high, may at ones pleaſure be thrown downe, but not men. Greatneſſe is not wholly to be attributed to any one, who was not the ſole cauſer thereof; when the ſubject concurs not only paſſively by receiving, but actively by co-operating, we call it an helping hand, not an entire Fabricke; hence it proceeds, that when we think we have reared a greatneſſe leſſer than our owne, wee finde that they themſelves have reared unto themſelves a greater.

Theſe

These two Kings reigned a long time together with concord and agreement.

I Wonder at *Romulus*, who not being able for a few days to bear with the company of an associate given him by nature, did for many yeares bear with it in a Competitour given him by fortune; but he perchance desired the death of his fellow King might proceed from fate, or else expect what occasion time would afford him, that he might not discover his brothers murder did proceed from desire of rule, but zeale to Justice.

Present faults make past excuses of no validity; for once a man may be wicked, and yet be thought good; the reiterating of vicious acts, causes them be believed to proceed from mans depraved nature, not from the necessity of the occasion: wary and vigilant men make shew alwayes to be good, that they may bee once bad to purpose; and this is a greater vice than others, because it borders near upon vertue: what better could be expected from him, who had no

no religion but ielfe-reſpect, no deſire but glory, no thought but how to rule alone, who could not ſuffer his brothers company, the Senates aſſiſtance, who for that he would have no cauſe to feare God, would be believed the ſonne of a god?

The King loves no companion, hee entertaines one, becauſe hee would have none: a Kingdom ſhould have two Maſters, if a King could ſuffer a companion; the government of two is not diſpleaſing to ſubjects, becauſe the number of the bad, exceeding the number of the good, they deſire what is bad, rather than what is good; ſo if they erre, they may have a place of refuge, if they offend, they ſhall bee back'd; the loſſe of one Matters favour, is a ſure way to purchaſe the others good will; all things are lawfull, ſave what is lawfull; and were it not that a Citie is firſt divided, and then deſtroyed, ſuch a ſervitude would be more favourable than liberty, at leaſt it would be conformable to cuſtome, which cals living licentiouſly, living at liberty: a Kingdome is the government of one, a Common-wealth,

of

of many; the latter is loſt by leſſening, the other by extention; two good Maſters do oftentimes turne bad, but two bad ones are ſeldome ſeen to turn good: it were better they were three, for ſo they might the more eaſily be reduced.

Titus Tatius *was now in the fifth yeare of his reigne, when ſome of his neighbours ſlew ſome of the* Laurentinian *Embaſſadours.* Romulus *who till then had concealed any deſire of diſcord with his Colleague, now ſuffers it to breake forth, cloaked by Religion; and that he himſelfe might be thought to be pious, and his companion impious, he publikely ſayes, that the author of ſo great a wickednesſe, ought be delivered up to the* Laurentinians: *but hee could not compaſſe his deſire, nor perhaps did he deſire to compaſſe it.* Titus Tatius *doth not conſent that they ſhall be puniſhed, ſhewing*

himſelfe to be an obſtinate defender of thoſe who were his, though in things unjuſt.

The Laurentinians *encouraged by this diſſention, or were it* Romulus *that did encourage them, ſlew* Titus Tatius *as he was buſied about ſome ſacred action.*

THe Subject commits a fault, and the Maſter is ſlaine; there would be no wicked men, if there were no protection of wicked men; permiſſion is protection. The firſt faults are theirs who doe them, the ſecond theirs who permit them; and the Prince ſhares in all, if he puniſh not all.

The Sabins *ſuſpect that* Romulus *had a hand in their Kings death, but he as ſeeming to reverence juſtice, and not to feare violence, neither made ſhew of too much joy, that he might not ſeeme impious,*

pions ; nor of over-much griefe, that hee might not ſeeme fearfull.

AN affected ſemblance of griefe, where the griefe may make appear innocent, where the fault is dangerous, and the danger is of inſurrection, in my opinion is rather a harmfull, than profitable advice.

It is an argument of feare, fear an argument of poſſibility of being offended ; and the act ſuddenly ſucceeds ſuch poſſibility either knowne or believed : who makes not his people feare, is made fear by his people ; their tumults are eaſilyer allaid by undaunted men, than by wiſe men ; for they more eſteeme the breaſt than the brain, and are ſooner compel'd than perſwaded.

A Prince can commit no greater errour, than to ſeeme capable of offence. What is poſſible is the only object of the will, nor do men covet that which they thinke impoſſible to obtain : feare ought alwayes to bee had, but never to bee ſhewn.

Romulus *renews truce with the* Lavinians; *and whileſt hee makes himſelfe ſure of theſe, warre is brought home to his owne door by the* Fedenatians; *but hee aſſiſted by artificiall cunning, ſuddenly overcomes them.*

TO ſay the truth, fortune favoured the Romans, all things concurred to their increaſe, many might, and none knew how to ruinate them: at firſt when it was eaſie to oppreſs them, no one ſtird againſt them; when they were increaſed, in the common danger, every particular will of himſelfe undertake the warre; and whereas all joyned together, had overcome them, each particular by them was overcome.

When they could not by weapons beat their enemies, their women work upon them by teares, the laſt and fatall bulwarkes of the walls of Rome.

I am

I Am not of their opinion, who labour to prove that nothing but vertue had ſhare in the Romans actions, and therein grow hot, as if to term them fortunate were a badge of infamy.

Wherefore ought daring be praiſed in a man, and not fortune; hee hath no greater ſhare in being bold, than in being fortunate; belike men believe her to be without man, becauſe we ſee her not within him, but ſhe is born with us, as are other qualities; and if ſhe be not an operation of the underſtanding, ſhe is at leaſt ſomewhat that moves the underſtanding to work in due ſeaſon; ſhe is a kinde of Enthuſiaſme, ſhee makes him ſpeake well, that knowes not why hee ſpeaks; ſhe makes him work to purpoſe, who knows not why he works; a might and power of the laſt individuation of a temper, which works not only in the ſubject, but tranſmits her qualities forth thereof; whence are cauſed operations in us, uſefull to others, occaſioned by ſome-what which what it is, we do not know, and it is that mans fortune: ſhe is an incantation of the temper, as Rhetorick is of the tongue, and makes her

ſelf be waited upon by all the other parts of man; ſhe is called fickle, not becauſe ſhe ceaſes to be good, but becauſe ſhe gives way to a better.

The Vientanians *ſlept in quiet, whileſt their neighbours were together by the ears, not unlike men oppreſſed with a Lethargy, who ſometimes waken at the hour of death.*

THe ſplendor of that fire which burns our neighbours, deceives the eye; it ſeemes faire, becauſe it ſhines; it ſeems good, becauſe it gives light; the harme thereof is not felt, till loſſe be thereby occationed.

They begin to ranſacke the Country, they tarry not the comming of the Enemy, and return home: the Romans, *when they found them not in their Territories, goe to the Citie* Veia; *the Enemy comes forth to meet them, and to their loſſe*

losse give battell; the Romans *forrage their Countrey: and finally, at the* Vientanians *request grant them peace for an hundred yeares.*

Whilst Romulus, *to call the Armie to a Rendezvouz, made an Oration in the field next to the Capreen fenne, a great and sudden storme of wind and thunder arising, he was no more seen; but being covered with a thicke obscurity, vanisht from the sight of those who heard him.*

The people did suspect that the Senators (whom hee had deprived of their authority) had slain him.

TOuching the ends of men of might, Fame is alwayes sinister; as if death it selfe did feare to affront them, if not inforced, or because they have offended many, that is believed to be mans revenge,

venge, which is caused by natures selfe; it may be likewise they believe that art may have powerfull remedies against death, and that Princes being thereby taught, cannot dye naturally, but by excesse of old age.

The people make a tumult; their choler boyles apace, but leaps not out of the vessell; they shew themselves ready to follow any who will revenge him; some Senator, who at that time had made himselfe the peoples Leader, might doubtlesly have made himselfe Master of the City.

Julius Proculus *came in, affirming that hee saw* Romulus *ascend up into Heaven, and that his will was to bee called the god* Quirinus; *the people believe him, appease the tumult, and in stead of revenging him, prepare to offer sacrifice unto him.*

They

THey detract from the merit of *Romulus* his actions, whilſt they augment his nature; they leſſen the wonder, and increaſe the reverence; they abaſe Divinitie, if they thinke it of ſo ſmall eſteeme; they vilifie humanitie, if they thinke it not of ſo much worth; the common people doe eaſily deifie Princes; him whom they ſee greater than many men, they thinke him greater than Humanitie; they apprehend their *Genus* to be above that of other individuals; they beleeve Infinitie to bee there where they cannot reach unto with their eye; and from the ſuperioritie of power, argue the ſuperioritie of Nature.

Theſe are the actions which were by *Romulus* done, in warre and in peace, who wanted not ſpirit to recover a Kingdome for his Grandfather, not counſell to build one to himſelfe, nor wiſedome to ſtrengthen himſelfe in Peace, which facilitated by his ſo many Victories, might be long injoyed by his poſteritie.

Romulus lived glorious by reaſon of his great atchievements, and falling in the midſt of them, before he had made

triall of adverſe fortune, he dyed fortunate.

Fortune is not ſufficient to raiſe a man to greatneſſe, if ſhe be not accompanied with worth; and worth is vaine, where fortune wanteth: they are, perhaps, more unfortunate than others, that are more fortunate; they are accuſtomed to ſee good events enſue, yea, even upon bad advice and counſell; and becauſe they can give no reaſon of their good effects, they alwaies addreſſe themſelves unto them without reaſon, as if their paſt good fortune, were a cleare demonſtration of future felicitie, and not rather an argument of approaching miſeries, in a world where the ſtar which in the morning is the Zenith to our head, is at night found to be the Nadir to our feet

Vertue, when unaccompanied, is not diſcerned; counſell is only approved by the event; and if vertue unaccompanied be diſcerned, it is either deſpiſed as unuſefull, or pitied as unhappie.

If God ſhould make the effects of all things ſucceed contrary to our wiſdoms reaſon, men might perhaps beleeve the world

world were governed by chance; and if all things did ſucceed according to wiſdome, I am afraid ſuch is humane weakneſs as it would deifie her; whereas now, through the only light of Nature, it is forced to beleeve, that there is ſomewhat without or forth of us, in which all things are.

Thoſe who have Vertue coupled with Fortune, aſcribe all actions to their wiſdome, nor will they acknowledge Fortune to have any ſhare therein, and indeed it behoves them to know, that ſhe hath a great ſhare in affaires, which makes them feare that inſtabilitie, which cannot be apprehended from elſe-where.

Romulus was made great by Vertue, guarded by Fortune, till he became great; Vertue, though faire, uſeth to bee accuſed of fruitleſneſſe; Fortune, though fruitfull, of inſtabilitie; the ones labours uſually faile of fruit, the others gifts of beleefe. *Romulus* may well be termed happie, whoſe vertue was fruitfull, and whoſe fortune permanent.

To compare him with any of the Ancients, the reſemblance betwixt him and *Moſes* is not to bee let ſlip; the one and the

the other in their births expoſed to the waters: *Moſes*, for *Pharaos* feare; *Romulus*, for that of *Amulius*, both of them fortunately ſaved. *Moſes* paſt his youth under ſhepherds attire; *Romulus* was educated amongſt ſhepherds. *Moſes* is the cauſe of *Pharaos* death; *Romulus* killeth *Amulius*. The one and the other were Leaders of people, the Introducers of Senates, Law-givers; and as they were alike in the beginning of their lives, ſo were they in their ends.

The Lord takes *Moſes* from the ſight of the Iſraelites, he leades him into a Mountaine where he ends his dayes; hee buries him, his death not being known. *Romulus* was taken from the eyes of the people, was led into ſome ſolitary place, was ſlaine by the Senatours, and buried, his death not being known. A like caſe, from a differing cauſe, and differing end; becauſe it was effected by different agents: God becauſe he ſaw the Iſraelites addicted to Idolatry, that they might not adore *Moſes* as God, would not ſuffer them to ſee his bones buried: Gods adverſary, out of a deſire to keepe and continue the Romans Idolaters, to the

the end that *Romulus* may be adored as a god, procures that his death be not knowne, nor his bones ſeene: the one, becauſe he is not found, is not worſhipped: the other is worſhipped, becauſe he is not found.

Romulus his morall faults, were the rape of the Sabine women, the death of his brother, and of his collegue; his politicall errour was only his indowing the Senate with ſo much power, and then his bereaving them of it.

The government of a State, is but a ſlippery path; one only bad action is ſufficient to ruinate a Prince, who hath been raiſed up by a thouſand good ones.

I doe not remember that ever any Ruler ſped amiſſe, for having left authority to the Senate, but oft for having taken it from them: If men commit errours, men ought to be puniſhed, and not the calling; and if the calling be feared, wherefore was it ordained? but it is not feare which cauſeth ſuch wickednesſe, it is the violent thirſt after rule; otherwiſe they would not leave the condition, when they take away the authority; being no leſſe ſubject to their poſſibility of

of reuniting, than of command: the inſtitution and permiſſion of Senators in the originall of commands, is not only done that ſubjects may be content with their ſervitude; but becauſe Princes are really ſatisfied with what they ordaine: It is the nature of beginnings, not the art of ruling. Who prepares for a great leape, is content to arrive at the ſide of the ditch, but afterwards ſtayes not there: mans underſtanding, becauſe it hath not in this world any adequate end, coveteth as an end, any thing that ſeemes deſirable unto it; and it hath no ſooner compaſt that end, but it makes uſe thereof as a medium to arrive at ſome other end, which was firſt hidden from it by the former, and continues to be the deſired end till it be obtained; a little maſter-hood ſeemes enough, where there is none at all; but where there is but a little, enough ſeemes nothing, if all be not had.

Romulus in his beginning was followed by the nobleſt ſort, becauſe he won upon them by conferring on them authority; in his end he was hated by them, for that he incenſed them by bereaving

reaving them of it. He cannot ſuffer the Senate which hee himſelfe did inſtitute, and becauſe they would have him as a companion, whom they accepted for their Prince, hee would make them ſlaves whom hee tooke for aſſiſtant Officers: both exceed their bounds, they in obeying, hee in commanding. The Senate which is made to aſſiſt the Prince, thinkes only how they may leſſen him: the Prince who ought governe the Senate, ſeekes to deſtroy it: that Magiſtracy in States is of duration, which is content to execute as a Miniſter, not to command as a Lord.

I have nothing of misfortune to recount of *Romulus*, ſave what was the occaſion of his death; and yet therein he was fortunate, becauſe it was ſudden. If there be nothing elſe of evill in death, but the troubleſome cogitations of the minde, and the painfull torments of the body, both which doe precede it, that death which is ſudden, preventing torments; that which happens ſoone, preventing the troubles of the minde, ſhould be eſteemed beſt.

There is nothing better in generall, than

what is worſt in the individuall: the foundation whereon the Coloſſus of the world doth erect it ſelfe to manifeſt its beauty, is death: it is the moſt ſolid part of conſort, on which all deſcants doe depend. What would there be after the loſſe of originall righteouſneſſe, if men did not die? the feare thereof holds-in fortunate men; the hope thereof withholds unfortunate men from wickedneſſe. Who ſhould take away death, ſhould take away the corner-ſtone from the worlds Fabrique, ſhould take away all Harmony, all order, and ſhould leave nothing but diſſonance and confuſion: the order of the univerſall, is contrary to that of individuals. The heavens which of their own particular nature do turne from Weſt to Eaſt, are by the univerſall nature carryed every day from Eaſt to Weſt: Death can neither bee bad nor painfull, if to dye be naturall, for naturall things are good. I am of opinion, that to end ones dayes in decrepit age, is to fall aſleep, not to dye: and ſay to dye were to be accounted amongſt the worſt of things, yet to be dead, were certainly to be numbred amongſt the beſt.

One

One muſt live, as conſidering he muſt live alwayes, not that he muſt once dye: the Soule which is that which underſtands, ought not to thinke of death, for ſhe never dyes; and if the Soule doe not, the body cannot feare it, becauſe it knows it not, as that which by means of contemplation, is a dead carkaſſe before it be dead: Wherefore ſhould the Soule rather feare, than deſire the death of the Body? which is burthenſome unto her? and why ſhould not the body alſo be deſirous to be bereft of its imperfections? it leaveth frailty, to put on immortality; it dyes baſe, and may riſe glorious; death is alwayes good, but appeares ſometimes to be bad, becauſe they are ſometimes bad who dye; let a man live innocent, for he ſhall be joy'd at the remembrance of death, not terrified; and were not natures frailty ſubject to lapſe, I ſhould be ſorry ſhe ſhould be provoked to do good out of the feare of death, or allured by the love of reward: the very foule il-favouredneſſe of doing ill, ought to bee a ſufficient feare, and the comelineſſe of having done well, a ſufficient reward; and if a man would

conſider

consider that rewards are received, he might consider what reward he hath already received, when of nothing he was created to immortality; nor am I any whit the more satisfied with well doing out of gratitude, but much when good is done out of love due to the infinitely lovely nature of God.

Let us then say,

I do not only love thee Lord, because thou hast created me, but I will returne again to nothing for thee. I doe not love thee, because thou hast promised me the beatificall vision of thy divine Essence; but I will goe even into hell for thee. I do not love thee my God for fear of evill: for if it be thy wil, I covet it as the greatest good. I love thee, because thou art altogether lovely, because thou art all love it selfe.

Lord, if I love thee not as I instruct others to love thee, assist the weakness of my nature, with the efficacy of thy helps: Stirre up my understanding, direct my will, whilst to the glory and honour of thy great Name, in the which I desire to end my life, I put an end to this my Booke.

Where the Author names Princes in wicked actions, hee meanes Tyrants; and where he writes of Fortune, hee understands her to be a cause unknowne to us; which as all others depends upon God, the cause of all causes.

The end of Romulus.

TARQUIN THE PROUD.

BEHOLD a Serpent, *Tarquin* the proud: he is not alive, ſo hee might kill; hee is dead, and conſequently may heale: he is not painted out only for delight, he is deſcribed alſo for inſtruction; you ſhall ſee him made to bow by his owne proper fruit, who watered with the bloud of ſo many innocents, like to the Cedar, erects his head higher than all others. You Princes, or you, who ere you be, that read this Treatiſe, decline this Serpent, tend not this Cedar, which in the beginning may ſeem to conteſt with Heaven, paſſe forwards, turne backe againe, and yet ſhall ſee him throwne head-long into Hell:

Hell : that eare that ſhall take offence at the progreſſe of this acromaticall harmony of ſo many harſh notes, let it expect to ſee it ſet to ſuch a cadence ſo harmoniouſly, as may ſerve to ſalve all diſſonances his Principality hath paſſed through.

It is never ſafer to write the actions of Tyrants, than under the government of good Princes; the diſſimitude of their manners will not permit them to believe that their actions are blamed, while the faults of others are related.

My booke, which otherwiſe is a Satyre of Tyrants, is a Panagerick of Princes; and if therein I ſometimes praiſe Liberty, I compare it with *Tarquin*; I hold a good Principality as free, as a bad Common-wealth tyrannous: all formes not corrupted are good I only know that for beſt which is poſſeſt, for all change is very bad.

Wherein could I better ſerve the now preſent Princes, than by putting their Subjects in minde of the calamities of ſuch as have preceded them? People who now live, know not their owne good fortune, becauſe they are borne in it. I doe

doe not desire they should be unhappy, but that they should know they are happy. I like not that they make tryall of Tyrants, but that they read their lives; then will a good Prince be reverenced, when it shall be known that God sometimes permits bad ones.

And wherein could I do better service to subjects, than in writing of a Tyrant, of *Tarquin*? If those who write Tragedies, have thought, not only to cause pleasure, but likewise profit to Princes, they have been deceived; they make them most unprofitable, when most pleasing: then is the Tragicall person approved of, when he marches in the middle, between vertue and vice; then is the alteration of the Scene delightfull, when the change is made unlooked for: but such a person instructs not them, because hee onely teacheth the like, or else the contrary; but so unlooked for an alteration of Scene instructeth not, it terrifieth; since as the worst of Princes are subject to dangers, grounded upon reason, cannot the best withdraw themselves from events caused by fortune.

They who write the lives of such Tyrants,

vants, as haply arrive at the Haven, delight, but ruine Princes; they are well liked, becauſe ſome would follow their own ſenſuality, and be ſecure, as if they thence might draw precepts how to live well, and governe ill. I write a uſefull Tragedy, the life of a Tyrant Prince, who reigning without reaſon, did with reaſon, to a wicked beginning, and worſer progreſſe, joyne an end worſt of all.

To preſcribe precepts unto Princes how to govern well, hath in it ſomewhat of delightfull, but it is a laborious, I had almoſt ſaid, a proud undertaking; they are for the moſt part *Idea's*, their being lyes in the Intellect, out of which they have no ſubſiſtance they are coveted forms, and becauſe impoſſible, not obtained. A point which in the abſtract is indivisible, is divided into many parts in the concrete, may ſuffer infinite diviſions: I think examples fitter for the managing of ſuch an affaire, than precepts: they tend both to the ſame end, yet run not the like danger; and in examples Princes are more pleaſed, when compared with a worſer than themſelves, than when

when with a better; if the party ſpoken of ſurpaſſe them, they liſten to it with ſhame; with emulation, if he equall them; but if he come ſhort of them, with glory. Bad actions related of former Princes, redound to the praiſe of the preſent, if they be not found in them; and ſay they be, they make them yet be borne withall. Detraction is applauded, and praiſe is not believed: in the latter, Truth purchaſeth the name of flattery, in the former, malice, the name of free-ſpoken; whence it proceeds, that the lives of worſer than our ſelves, are both more willingly written and read, than the lives of ſuch as are better.

If I were fit to preſcribe rules to Prince, I could not chooſe a better meanes, than by propoũding the life of Tyrants; it is much eaſier to ſay, a Prince ought not to be thus, than to ſay, thus he ought to be; the negative, than the affirmative, thoſe who too ſeverely reſtraine them within certaine narrow limits, diſhearten, not inſtruct them; whence it oftentimes enſues, that having broken thoſe narrow bounds, and thereby thinking they have tranſgreſſed the Lawes of a

good Prince, they become head-long, as bad as who is worſt. The goodneſſe of Soveraignty doth not conſiſt in one individuall point, it hath its latitude; & ſo depraved is humane nature, that he is to be eſteemed vertuous, who is without vice; he exceeding good, who is not bad. All men have not the worth of *Cyrus*, and though ſome have it, they want the meanes of ſhewing it; to propound his life for imitation to one who hath not his endowments, is as much as to goe about to erect the like building, where are not the like foundations. All may eaſily abſtaine from *Tarquins* vices, but all cannot imitate *Cyrus* his vertues; hee who hath not wings cannot mount towards the skies, and who hath not the eyes of an Eagle, cannot looke upon the Sunne.

All things of this world are ſo knit together, that one depends upon another, and upon that, another; who ſo takes one linke from this chain, breakes it. In a Prince who hath wonne reputation, courteſie begets good will; in another, who is fooliſh, it begets ſcorne, becauſe the link of reputation is wanting;

many

many lines meete in one point, many wayes lead to one place; he that cannot goe the troubleſome way, let him goe the eaſie, for if he arrive not at his journeyes end with ſo much praiſe, he will yet get thither without blame.

To give inſtructions to Princes, it behoves to looke into their nature, and ſometimes to be contented to allow him good, when he cannot be better.

Servius *was the laſt birth of regall power in* Rome; *after him ſhee brought forth nothing but a monſter.*

Tarquin *makes his entrance into the Kingdome by force; hee may purſue therein with courteſie, but he will make uſe of cruelty: in the death of his wives Father, hee ſhewes himſelfe to be revengefull; in leaving him unburied, proud; in comparing him with* Romulus, *irreverent.*

A Princes death, though violent, if his whole Race ceaſe in him, is no impediment to the good government of him that ſucceedes, if hee bee not a cauſe thereof himſelfe, through his bad government: where there is none of the bloud, there is no head; where there is no head, people doe but murmur, they take no reſolution; the greateſt provocations to revenge, are either neceſſity or profit: friendſhip is maintained with men, ſeldome with dead carkaſſes; and if it remaine after death, it is only for compaſſion, not revenge. Princes ought then to aſſaile their Subjects with good turnes, not with weapons; the preſent moveth more forcibly, than what is paſt; and though ancient friendſhip may hinder ſome one from applauding, new benefits will retain him from plots and machinations: one who hath received a good turne, either doth not budge againſt his Prince, or if he doe, is followed by none; his paſt ingratitude teacheth others how dangerous it is to oblige him; But what will you more? wicked men for a puniſhment of their miſdoings, are confident where danger is, diffident where ſecurity. Thoſe

Thoſe cruelties which tend not to dominion, are furious, not diſcreet; hee who uſeth them is a cruell beaſt, not a cruell man. It ſeemes *Tarquin* did better love revenge, than rule; rather to have his hands blooded, than his head crowned. Princes are ſometimes born withall, if neceſſity of government cauſe them bee cruell; but if they bee ſo by inſtinct of nature, they are alwayes hated.

Hee who feares hee hath taught others how to enter the Kingdom through that breach which he hath made by violence, kills all ſuch Senators as were friends to Servius.

IF it be a hard matter to maintain Tyranny, where a Tyrant is driven out; it ſeemes impoſſible to maintaine it, where a good Prince is expell'd; in ſuch a caſe the Gouernment cannot be preſerved from being loſt; for he that will kill all the friends of a good Prince, muſt kill all his Subjects.

In the putting to death of one alone through cruelty, a Prince obligeth himſelfe to commit many the like facts; the one ſprings from the other, and the laſt is alwayes moſt fruitfull.

He doubts the tye of Allyes, he feares the hatred of their friends; and to free himſelf from danger, worketh new cruelties, which never render him ſecure, but put a neceſſity upon him to commit greater.

HEe who hath wonne a Kingdome by the ſword, if he lay not downe the ſword, the ſword will lay downe him; he is too great a foole who will uſe the ſame food to continue health, which he did to acquire it; and the Tyrant is not wiſe, who maketh uſe of the ſame meanes to governe a State, which he did to poſſeſſe himſelfe thereof. This is not written that it ought to bee done, but becauſe it uſually is done; it is rather the nature, than doctrine of men; they thinke that good alwayes which they have

have found once good. It is a precept convenient for Princes, not becomming Tyrants: goodneſſe preſerves it ſelfe with its like, naughtineſſe is reduced by its contrary; and ſo great is the power of good, and the weakeneſſe of evill, that men have often a neceſſity of being often good, be it but to continue themſelves the longer bad.

Farre be the ſword from the hands of Princes; pardon, not cruelty enforceth mens hearts; the latter uſed againſt one alone, begets the hatred of a thouſand: the former is not uſed without the addition of new friends. The Tyrants feare encreaſeth with his power, and looke how many he commands, ſo many hee ſtands in awe of; he is not worthy to be obeyed, who uſeth not the meanes to be beloved.

I blame not Princes, becauſe they make themſelves be feared, but becauſe they know not how to make themſelves bee feared. It is not likely that this deſire of being feared ſhould take ſo firm roote in the greater number of Princes who begin to rule, if it were not uſeful for government; it makes us like unto God: but

men in cauſing it, ſuffer themſelves oft-times to bee deceived through ignorance, or miſled through difficulty; and whileſt they endeavour to reach unto what is divine, they fall into what is beſtiall.

Man in his nature is free, borne to command, at leaſt not to ſerve; man is unbrideled, uncurbed in his paſſions; he is firſt a creature, before a reaſonable creature: the chiefeſt bridle hee hath is fear, becauſe it is the chiefeſt affection, if it grow not to ſo great a height, as it cauſe it ſelf be driven away by the deſperation which it ſelfe is cauſe of; he who deſpairs of life, cannot feare death, for he eſteeems himſelf as dead already, & future things are only capable of fear.

Love is a ſilken thred, which holds in the horſe, whilſt hee feeles not himſelfe ſpurd by any other paſſion, which then or breakes or overcomes it, and runs to the deſtruction of his ruler, becauſe the incitements of anger, and deſire of glory, are more powerfull than the affections of love.

'Tis good to cauſe men feare, but not to cauſe ones ſelfe bee feared by men: 'tis

'tis good that they feare their own actions, not the actions of their Princes, unleſs by reaſon of their Princes actions; feare would bee the childe of Majeſtie, not of cruelty; the one cauſeth reverence, the other is accompanied by hatred; the former is the off-ſpring of worthy actions, the latter of bad. That Maſter is ſafe whoſe vertue is feared, and he is but in a bad condition, whoſe folly cauſeth awe. A Prince partakes of Divinity, when he cauſeth himſelf be feared, becauſe hee deſireth that wee ſhould doe well; and he ſides with the Devill when he cauſeth himſelfe be feared, becauſe he himſelfe would do ill.

Tarquin *keepes alwayes about him a guard of armed men, that hee might by force maintaine that Scepter, which hee had wonne by force.*

A Princes Guard, if it finde him not a Tyrant, doth oft times make him one. If feare be the greateſt obſtacle to wickednes, ſecurity is the greateſt occaſioner

cationer. It is certainely a ſtrange thing that a Prince ſhould keep a guard to ſecure himſelfe from thoſe, of whom hee himſelfe is the guard. That Common-wealth neighbours upon corruption, which ſtands in need of a guard: and that Principality is already corrupt, which hath need thereof: Naturall operations proceed from forme. If a State maintain it ſelf by ought elſe than form, it is violent; if violent, of little durance. An army will not ſuffice to guard that Prince, whom a few will not ſerve to guard, becauſe few are enough, where is the love of many, and many are but few, where is the hatred of all.

The ſame ſword that may defend him may kill him, if the covetouſneſſe of a Mercenary man, meet with the liberty of a Common-wealths man. How unhappy is the life of a Tyrant? it behooves he guard himſelfe from thoſe that guard him. And what is it that can render him ſafe? Affections? no: for wicked men are hatefull even unto ſuch as reap benefit by their wickedneſſe. Reward? no: for the rewards which other men promiſe for the death of a Tyrant, are al-

waves

wayes greater than those which he himselfe giveth for the preservation of his life. An Oath? no: for an Oath which is a good thing, partakes not of any thing that is evill, and nothing can bee worse, than to defend a Tyrant. Shame? no: for it is no shame to foul ones hands in his blood, whose death would make paricide be commendable. Good God? If Princes did but consider how easie and safe a thing it is to govern well, how difficult and dangerous it is to governe ill, Souldiers might well serve to adorne their Majestie, not to defend it.

A good Prince may distast, but not offend; he may purchase ill willers, but not enemies; and he needs but a slender guard, because he distasts but a few, and those out of necessity. If male-contents issued only from the tribunall of Justice, and not else-where, Officers would be a better defence than Souldiers: But a Prince is in worse condition in bestowing his favours, than in administring justice: in the one, necessity defends him; in the other, liberality makes him odious. If Justice goe amisse, it acquires equall number as well of friends as enemies;

mies; whereas reward, be it never ſo well beſtowed, pleaſeth but one, and cauſeth the hatred of all others that are unrewarded; which is ſo much the greater, becauſe it proceeds not only from loſſe, but from a diſ-regard the Prince ſeemes to put upon thoſe that ſhares not equally of his favour; declaring them that be inferiour to him, he hath made choiſe to beſtow it on.

A Prince cannot then be termed a Tyrant, whilſt he requires a ſmall guard, that hee himſelfe may guard many; hee rather deſerves that name, when he endeavours to ſecure himſelfe from the hatred occaſioned by his wickedneſſe: but howſoever it be, a Princes guard is not pleaſing to the Senate; they imagine it to be invented to offend them, not to defend the Prince; with whom they alwayes are at variance, for that liberty, which is already ſervitude, when it fals into the hands of ſuch as may ſafely uſe violence.

To make his power greater, and himſelfe more terrible, Tarquin

quin *himſelfe alone takes cognizance of all cauſes, yea, criminall: whence hee hath opportunity afforded him to condemn ſuch, from whom he may either hope for profit, or feare dammage. Hee hates the vertues of other men, he covets their riches; which at ſuch a time is an enemie to the poſſeſſor; nor can there bee a greater happineſſe under a Tyrant, than to be unfortunate.*

IT is held as a neceſſary maxime amongſt Princes, that all things may have their dependency upon one alone; 'twas ſtrengthned by the teſtimony of an approved Councellour, who is thought to have put it amongſt his firſt inſtructions, for the preſervation of an Empire. But either I am deceived, or hee did not intend ſuch private affairs, as properly belong to juſtice, whoſe errours can cauſe but ſmall harme to the Prince. Hee ſurely intended ſuch as belonging to government, are apprehended under that

that point of determination, upon which depends the being, or not being of a Principality.

It behoves a Prince as well to abſtaine from all things which not become him, as to doe thoſe things which belong unto him. He who either too much ſlackneth, or too much inhaunceth his power, abandoning the degree of a Prince, doth either too poorely ſerve the common people, or doth too arrogantly command the Nobles; the one of which errours ſprings from too much familiarity, the other from too much pride.

All men, though never ſo wiſe, or of never ſo meane underſtanding, when they heare the lives of paſt Princes recounted, be they good or bad, praiſe the goodneſſe of the one, and blame the wickedneſſe of the other. Yet are there ſome who afterwards arriving at ſupream authority, leaving thoſe things which they thought praiſe-worthy, betake themſelves to thoſe which in former times they had blamed. Wherefore many, thinking this to happen out of meere election, ceaſe not to wonder, that when Princes may live with ſafety and

honour,

honour, they chuſe to live in feare and defamation; whereas if they had conſidered how that men do ſeldome imbark themſelves in evill actions, but are led thereunto, not of their own will, nor yet againſt their will, but of ſome-what beſide their will; they would have had more occaſion to enquire into the reaſon, than to continue wondring.

I verily believe that all Princes would be good, but that many are hindred by their Subjects, and ſome miſled by the times. Fortune hath likewiſe a great ſhare, if not in making a Prince good, at leaſt in making him appear ſo. *Cæſar* might happily have beene exceeding good, if he had met with *Cyrus* his Subjects, or *Trajans* times. It behoves not to meet with great reſiſtance, where any great work is to be well brought in: the compariſons of the worſt, are ſometimes neceſſary to make the beſt known: all Princes may be good, but not all ſeeme good. The Subjects complaints are of power enough to dazle the writers eyes, ſo as hee ſees not clearely thoſe actions which he writes: the Prince is left alone to ſpeak againſt him, and injuſtice is be-

lieved

lieved to bee alwayes on the more powerfull ſide. Subjects are ſo deſirous of liberty, as hee that would governe them well, muſt not govern them at all. He is not accounted a good Prince amongſt them, who doth not lay down his Principalitie. Cities, where the more powerfull trample upon the Plebeians, can never be well governed, but through ill government. If he defile his hands in the blood of the Nobility, they call him tyrant; they hate him as a Tyrant, & oftimes makes him become one: If he ſuffer the common people to be trod under foot, he is no Prince: that dignity is conferd upon him, that he may defend them moſt, that are leaſt able to defend themſelves. I had almoſt ſaid it is as hard to know who hath been a good Prince, as it is to be a good Prince: Had it fallen to the common people of *Romes* ſhare to give their vote, they would have proclaimed ſome one for an excellent Ruler, who by the Senate was declared a Tyrant.

I deny not, but acknowledge that Princes ſometimes run voluntarily into evill wayes, being deceived either by a

falſe good, or falſe glory; they finde it more troubleſome to make good a Tyranny, than a principality; they thinke it likewiſe more glorious; they betake themſelves unto it, as if that were more praiſe-worthy which is more difficult, than that which is more convenient.

Tarquin *reduceth the Senators to a ſmall number, that they may be leſſe eſteemed of by others, and more obſervant of him.*

THe ſinewes are taken from the authority of a Senate, when it is reduced to a few: the authority of one Senator is hindered by the extending of it to many; particular men grow leſſe eſteemed of, becauſe that one man is not ſo much eſteemed of, for ariving at that degree whereunto ſo many come, and the reverence of the common people, by how much it is extended, by ſo much it is leſſened: one man in a ſmall aſſembly, either by his worth or fortune, may eaſily make himſelfe

ſelfe umpire; and inequality preſerves a Prince, if it be of many; but if it bee of one alone, it ruines him. That Prince which is not a Tyrant, ought augment his Senate, becauſe great men are more dangerous than Magiſtrates. A Prince who is a Tyrant, hath good fortune, if he finde it leſſened, whether his intention be to curbe it, or quite extinguiſh it. Thoſe who augment the number of Senators, if they doe it with an intention of weakning the Senate, by how much more they encreaſe it, the more they ſtrengthen it: how great ſoever it bee. 'tis alwayes in a poſſibility of becomming little, and the authority of a great many, may be managed by the braines of a few. If they do it with an intention of introducing their wel-willers, whil they thinke to make Senators partiall in their behalfe, they loſe thoſe Subjects which were formerly partial unto them Such things are not reall, but rationall: they are not found in realities, but only in the underſtanding. The ſame path which mounts from the foot of the hill, deſcends from the top: he who from the Tyrants Palace lookes upon the Senate,

miſſlikes the Senate; but if from the Senate-houſe, hee looke upon the Tyrant, hee miſſlikes the Tyrant. Hence it proceeds that many Magiſtrates of a refined judgment, have ſometimes brought into the Senate factious people, to make them change their mindes. He is the ſelf-ſame which was in the market-place, & which is in the Senate-houſe; but the proſpect is not the ſame from the Senate to the market-place, as from the market-place to the Senate. Who changeth the proſpect of neceſſity, changeth likewiſe the point. That which not poſſeſt, appeared evill, producing envy and malice, being poſſeſt, (and ſo thoſe removed) is acknowledged for very good: the greateſt and moſt wonderfull metamorphoſis that is, is that which preſents it ſelfe to the eye of any one, when he layeth aſide envy and malice.

Tarquin *marrieth his daughter to the Latines, he thinks to ſhunne the danger he might have run in marrying her amongſt his owne friends: to augment his forces, that*

that hee might tyrannise over the Romans, and to prepare meanes, that hee might in time subdue the Latines.

THis true, a neighbour friend was more useful to him, than a thousand friends, or kindred a farre off. Who sees not the Tyrant, cannot aide him; his defence is of no further extent than his voyce: the chances which befall him are conspiracies, and conspiracies are sudden. If hee have friends a farre off, hee may be said to have a place whereunto to flye, when hee is driven out; not a stay to keepe him from being driven out. But *Tarquin* did rather aspire to the winning of the *Latines* Kingdom, than fear of the losse of the *Roman*: besides in so hard a businesse, he reaps profit enough, who receives no dammage; and he is sufficiently defended, who is not offended.

Hee was a good example to himselfe, of the bad examples which marriages into the blood-Royall doe produce: the the first thing they conceive withall, is the

the desire of government; the first birth which they would bring unto their husbands, is a Kingdome. Matrimonie requires equality, which if it finde not, it causeth. Principality in its owne essence, covets inequality. A Princes kindred are they who first shew dislike unto the government, as they who are likeliest to desire it, aptest to compass it. Kindred in a private estate are not always friends; they pretend equality, grow to emulate, and what they cannot compasse by emulation, they endeavour by malice; which mischiefe it is impossible to allay, either by benefits, or wisdome, or goodnesse, or any thing whatsoever, death excepted. The world would bee much obliged to an Author, who would shew the means how a man might shunne envy and malice, when the subject is capable thereof.

Tarquin *had already won great power amongst the Latins, & perhaps that hee might make it greater, was the cause why he desired them to assemble themselves together*

together in the Ferentine wood, to treat of publique affaires. They came as appointed, hee delayed his comming; and Turnus, *who together with a great deale of liberty, had but ſmall ſtore of underſtanding, not able to ſuffer ſo long delay, we may imagine ſpoke in this manner in the midſt of them.*

TArquin, *(O you Latins) is not to be ranked amongſt the unwary, nor numbred amongſt the unadviſed. This action proceeds not from pride, and if from pride, 'tis done that he may govern; not through neglect. He who is wont to make his companions become his ſervants, will have his friends become his ſubjects: he tryes our patience by the ſame meanes, by which hee once wonne the Kingdome; to aſſemble a Councell, is the authority of a Prince, not to appeare there, the pride of a Tyrant; to endure it, the patience of Subjects.*

Tarquin *is too great to be any other member of our body, than the head: the harmony*

of

of many good voyces is marred by one, though better, if it be too great and loud. If you bring in a Lyon into your Common-wealth, prepare likewiſe to obey his will; humane power is as the wind, which though it ſtands fair for whither we are bound, yet if it be too great, it drownes us. Thoſe who are by much greater than we, ought to be kept as farre off as may be, or at leaſt where they are. Wee ought endeavour to have them not our enemies, but not deſire to have them our friends; their converſation is not company, it is ſervitude, if it become not enmity. He who would ſee a large figure at the beſt advantage, muſt not ſet it neare to his eye, the ſight thereof requires a great diſtance.

Princes become Tyrants, becauſe they are never ſatiated with government, they will be Lords of our honours, goods, & perſons. They hold all which they poſſeſſe not, their enemie; they thinke all loſt which they get not, no man is content with what he poſſeſſeth: our felicity which is never found, conſiſts more in getting than in having got: for in the one, men take delight out of a belief of attaining to it, whereas in the other they are vext, finding they have not attained thereunto.

I perſwade my ſelfe that if one were Lord

of

of the whole world, and had what ever hee would desire; yet cloid with worldly delights, he would despaire, seeing he had not found out felicity, nor knew no other place to looke her in.

There is nothing so averse to a Tyrant, as liberty; nor is there any worse liberty to him, than what is neareſt him: his people learne by example, when they are not fomented by force.

If a ſtranger take upon him the authority to aſſemble a Councell, hee will ſhortly have enough to command it. Forms are not changed in an inſtant: accidents which have no bodies, are thoſe which cauſe change in bodies.

Doe you believe that he, who is not content to be Prince amongſt his own people, wil content himſelfe to be a private man amongſt the Latines? Doe you believe he will abaſe himſelfe to the brother-hood of a City, who leaves no wickedneſſe unattempted, to raiſe himſelfe to Monarchies.

You have for example before your eyes, the Romans; examples are no more believed, they admit of interpretation; ſuch as had wont to ſerve for inſtruction, before a deed be done, find no beliefe, till after it be done. They are become pernicious in humane actions, they

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are not considered as they are; every one fits them according to his own desire, either to believe too much in them, or not believe in them at all.

What will you have to doe with him from whom you can expect no help, unlesse it bee to rule you; nor expect counsell, unlesse it be how to grow cruell? And say his customes hurt not you, because they are in him; they will endammage you, because they will passe into you: mischiefe of its owne nature is taking, and 'tis likely that Tyranny hath somewhat of sweetnesse in it, since that many laying aside the security of Principality, betake themselves to Tyranny not without danger. We have too much forgot our selves in sufferirg his allyance: matches with Princes become not a Common-wealth, strangers have got one foote in, to take possession; Citizens have a leaning-stocke without, whereby to make themselves Masters thereof.

Tyrants ought to be hated, not reverenced by the people; it is not safe to mention him, much lesse to intr duce him into a Common-wealth; he who speakes of him, should make him be believed to be a Tygre, a Sphinx, not a man.

I cannot believe you have a desire of Lords

to become ſervants; I know not whether you ſuffer your ſelves to periſh through ignorance, or weakneſſe, or through both; for my part, my vote ſhall ceaſe together with my life, and not before, in this Common-wealth; whileſt Turnus *lives, ſilence ſhall not be the overthrow thereof: hee who will follow my ſteps, ſhall not be commanded by* Tarquin.

Here Turnus *made an end, when each turned about to ſalute* Tarquin, *who arrived at that very inſtant; and being admoniſhed to make his excuſe, ſaid that the occaſion of his ſo long ſtay, was his having ſtickled in a difference between a Father and a ſonne.*

Turnus, *who by fiercenеſſe and freedome of ſpeech, had wonne reputation amongſt the Latines, following his accuſtomed wont, anſwered: Such differences require not much time to end them; the ſonne is bound to obey his father.*

ther, if hee be good; if he be bad, to beare with him; howſoever, to reverence him: and hee hath then leaſt reaſon on his ſide, when hee pretends to have moſt.

IT would be a great good fortune to be born in times fitted to ones proper *Genius*, if thoſe times were permanent, or if one were to die therein: but ſince that alterations happen almoſt alwayes, and death but ſeldome; it is a great misfortune to live in a happy time, and dye in an unhappy one: it is not without wonder to be conſidered, that we who with times change our externall habits, will not believe with time, our internall habits ought alſo to be changed: the ignorant, as well as the learned, are ſubject to this weakneſſe, either for that they know not how to change that nature whereunto they are accuſtomed, or that they believe they ought not to change that which hath been ſucceſſefull to them but Fortune often varies with man, becauſe ſhe changeth the times, and they change not their manners.

That Lion-like fierceneſſe which was ſerviceable to *Turnus* in private factions amongſt his equals, ought to have been diſſembled with his ſuperiours; winning behaviour, adviſedneſſe and fierceneſſe mingled together, ſeaſon any affair excellently well, when the winning behaviour appears ſufficiently, the adviſedneſſe not at all, and the fierceneſſe but a little.

As it is weakeneſſe to diſſemble with ones equall, ſo not to diſſemble with ones ſuperiour is raſhneſſe; it is not at all times good to ſay al what the heart thinketh, though all what the heart thinketh be good; freedome of ſpeech ought ſometimes to be forborn, when freedom of life is corrupted; who uſeth it not in a befitting time, hinders not, but haſtens power.

Tarquin, who wrought him ſelfe in by little and little, ought by little and little to be wrought out; the obliging of him to ſecure himſelfe from ſome powerfull Citizen, is to oblige him to doe ſome great act, by which hee may either become, or learne how to become Prince: it is not good to paſſe by the leaſt errors

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in an entire Common-wealth, and it is worſe to withſtand all in a Common-wealth corrupted; at ſuch times to appear too much a good common-wealths man, is the next way to produce a Tyrant, the weight which preſerves in ſafety an upright pillar, cauſeth it fall, if the pillar leane to one ſide. Difficulties ought not alwayes to be thruſt at, in deſperate caſes, it is better to commit them into the hands of Fortune, than to ſeek to remedy them; where we cannot help our ſelves, to be buſie, can worke no other effect, than hinder the effects of a cauſe ſuperiour to our ſelves; and whilſt that comes by unknown wayes, impatience in ſeeking of it out, may eaſily not afford it leaſure to come: or diſturbe it, by cauſing it take ſome other way. How many hath Nature helpt, whom Art hath abandoned? and how many hath Art ſlain, whom Nature would have reſtored to health?

Tarquin ſayes no more: he is not wont to defend himſelfe with words, who is uſed to heare nothing but flattery: theſe ſpeeches take him unprovided, becauſe they are free: to anſwer all, pertaines to

private men; to punish all, to Tyrants. Princes ought not contend in words, lest they the more incense others, or become themselves too passionate, & bring their Majesty in question: more place is reserved for craft, when lesse is afforded to choler. A Tyrant sometimes is well pleased, when he heares himselfe provoked by great men, hee seekes out offences, that hee may commit them, hee is glad to receive them, out of a desire to revenge them; if he meet with none, he faines them, either for his better excuse, or that he may be the more incenst.

Tarquin, *that hee might plot the death of* Turnus, *hath recourse to some of the contrary faction, by whose meanes a servant of his is suborned to receive great store of armes and weapons into his house.*

STrangers have fitting meanes for revenge in a factious City, if there be none there obliged to doe ill, there are alwayes enough, contented to see ill done,

done; if there be none that have the act of anger, there be enough that have the habit of hatred: a ſtranger in ſuch places meetes ſeldome with any provocations to blood, ſave hatred and malice; becauſe offences are for the moſt part, either old, & already forgotten; or new, and already revenged; it is neither wiſdome nor fore-ſight for a Citizen ſo to embroyle himſelfe: the ſtranger is gone, the Citizen remaines. If the buſineſſe ſucceed not, the former hath the glory to have attempted, the other remaines in danger, becauſe he hath attempted, & ſuffers ſcorn for that it hath not ſucceeded; ſuch kinde of people would not be found in Cities, were there not many in all Cities, who wanting experience and diſcourſe, abound in nothing but ignorance and malice.

The next morning Tarquin *aſſembles together many of the chiefe of the Latines, in the middeſt of which, we may imagine he ſpake thus.*

MY yesterdayes delay, oh yee Latins, hath delayd all our deaths. Turnus *was grieved at it, because his hopes were thereby prolonged; he that day thought to make himselfe Master over you; he deferd his thought, because he on whom his thoughts were chiefly bent, deferd his comming. I know this to be true, and such is his untamed pride, as might make you know it also: but it will appeare plaine unto you, when searching into the most secret places of his house, you shall finde them filled with weapons.*

A fierce and proud Citizen, is the Lion of the City; if he tarry there, he will be King; fierceneſſe makes him raſhly ſeeke for that, which pride makes him covetouſly deſire. ſuch a ones greateſt enemy is he who is the Cities chiefeſt friend.

Your owne eares filled with ſo many opprobrious lies uttered againſt me, may be a witneſſe of this; he never ſought for glory, but by detracting from others; he is one of thoſe who terme themſelves free, and are ſo indeed, in as much as they are not ſubject to reaſon, a people who ſee nothing but faults, becauſe they ſeeke after nothing elſe: they blame the Sunne, becauſe it offends their eyes, and

know

know not that the fault is in their eyes, not in the Sunne; a wicked generation, whose fame lyes only in defamation; their praise in blaming, their greatnesse in detraction. They say whatsoever comes next to mouth, so it be bad enough; they are proud, envyous, arrogant: and malicious; they seeke for applause, through evill speaking, and because they meet with it in the weaker sort, they make the better Citizens grow desperate; and under a false shew of liberty, they first confound the true one; then oppresse it: they have no means to raise themselves, but by taking from others, that they may rise, they put him under-foot whom they detract, and so, as they may appeare great, like women, they care not whether it be by flesh, or a chopine: this kind of people most pernitious to the whole world, sow confusion, make Princes become Tyrants, raise discords in Senats, fill Cities with calumnies, and finally with dead men.

Turnus *sayes, I aspire to the government of you; he brings for example, that I am hatefull to mine owne people, an enemy, a Tyrant to them.*

O miserable condition of Princes! when as necessity inforces them to oppose themselves to the ambition and hatred of great

ones, they call them Tyrants: They cannot make good the reasons they have of putting them to death, unlesse the Princes will suffer themselves to be slaine: conspiracies are cald tricks, and inventions, when they end it not in a Tragedy with the death of the Prince; they are held impossible, though their truth be seen every day, it is lawfull to beat back force by force; if private men doe so, they are borne withall, if not commended, in Princes it is blamed, and necessity is termed cruelty, the weakest seemes alwaies to have the justest cause, though true justice consists only in such as are powerfull, who have it in their choice to doe, what the others are inforst to doe.

And who is it that hates me, unlesse it be the Senate, which cannot brooke Princes; nor be brooked by Princes; it was a friend to Servius, because it took not from him that Authority it tooke from the Kingdom, though it belonged not unto him; but it hath taken both the one and the other from me, to whom of right they did belong; Right is not by them weighed, but numbred; and is there beleeved to be, where it is cryed up by the major party.

A Senate is ordained for free Cities; where such freedome is not, it corrupteth Government, and makes Monarchy turne Tyrannie.

Doe

Doe not beleeve (O Latins) that the faults which they object unto me, proceed from any vice of mine, they are cauſed through the neceſſity of government: they who deſire a mediocrity in liberty, deſire it not as meaning to reſt there, but that they may the eaſier compaſſe what yet remaines behinde: if a rider put a rough bit in a horſes mouth which will not be governed, no man blames him for ſeverity; they blame the horſe becauſe he will not be ruled; and yet they call the Prince cruell, who would curbe the Senate, and call not the Senate headſtrong which will not obey the Prince: where there is ſuch a magiſtracie, the Prince muſt either beare himſelfe called Tyrant, or ſuffer his Principality to be taken from him, or give it up himſelfe: this name of Tyrant, which is ſo frequent in every mans mouth, what is it, but his commmand who forceth himſelfe to be obeyed? which if it betrue, every one that commands is a Tyrant; ſince there are very few, or indeed none at all, who (all other impediments taken away) doe naturally affect ſervitude; for my part I will rather renounce, than prejudice government; quit the Principality rather than leſſen it.

But allow it, though void of all truth, that

I be hatefull, an enemie, and a Tyrant to my people: who knowes not that if I have enemies, it behoves me ſeeke for friends? that he who is hated of his ſubjects, cannot ſubſiſt without the love of forreners? that he cannot by violence hold in the Romans, who hath not the Latins for his faithfull confederates? In briefe, Truth is a precious liquor, it will not be kept under by the waters of falſehood, but will float above; and falſhood is a viper, which wounds with her teeth, and beares the cure in her belly.

You ſee now the words which Turnus *made uſe of to falſifie truth, are the ſelfe-ſame by the which I prove the truth: you ſhall ſee the ſame man, who hath offended me, ſtand up in my defence. I will then ſhew you what* Tarquin *is, when you ſhall know what* Turnus *is.*

Truth hath no ſuch enemy as likelihood; and oft-times one truth is an utter enemy to another.

More beleefe ought to be given to things which appeare impoſſible, than to thoſe which admit of likelihood; who would make a lye be beleeved, delineats forth a ſeeming truth, and not the impoſſibility, I was about to ſay,

and

and am almoſt of the opinion, that hee is in a worſe condition, in the worlds reſpect, who is loaded with calumnies, than he who is infeſted with accuſations

There is no lye ſo dangerous, as that which moſt reſembles the truth, many likely propoſitions ſeeme to conclude a neceſſary truth, and many true antecedents, are of force enough, yea, amongſt the moſt wary, to averre a falſe concluſion.

It happens now and then, that an innocent man can deny no interrogatories, yet will deny the conſequence, a thouſand moments make no difference in time, a thouſand points make not one line, and a thouſand likelihoods make not one truth.

It was true that *Turnus* was a proud man, it was true that he was fierce, it was true that hee blamed *Tarquins* tarrying, it was true that he had a number of arms hid in his houſe, but all the reſt was falſe, there is no meanes to preſerve ones ſelfe from ſuch wicked wayes, and perverſe calumnies, they are mines which cannot be avoided, but by foreſeeing them.

A State is maintained by accuſations, ruined by calumnities. It is a common tenet amongſt Polititians, the latter part is not heeded now a dayes by the world, becauſe that though men doe not believe falſe-hood, yet they give way thereunto. Subjects uſe their penne, not their tongues; and though in what they write calumnies are oft enough diſcerned, yet are they not puniſhed, becauſe the calumniators are not knowne. Such proceedings puzzle the braines of Princes; and if it cauſe not diffidence ariſe in them, it cauſeth confidence to ceaſe: all are not of his opinion, who at the ſame time when as he ſwallowed downe the ſuſpected drinke, put into his friends hand the calumnious paper: it was an action of one void of feare, I cannot call it a wiſe mans part: falſhood, when conſtantly affirmed for truth, if it deceive not even thoſe who know the certainty thereof, it aſſuredly makes them ſuſpend their judgment: many believe, that nothing which is done would be knowne, if this meanes were not uſed; and I am of beliefe, that but a little is known, becauſe it is uſed; if men were certaine

there

there were no other way of accuſation, than by revealing themſelves, in things which appertaine unto the State, their duty and honour would lead them to it; and for what concerns civill converſation, often-times hatred and envy, yea, ſometime zeale and conſcience. Then if a Prince would reward accuſers, and puniſh ſlanderers, he would in a ſhort time make happy his eſtate; for that accuſers by little and little winning reputation, they would at laſt come to ſuch an height, that men would not be aſhamed to accuſe, as the moſt reputed Citizen in the beſt times have not been: the ſuffering of accuſations to goe leſſe in reputation, and calumnies to get footing, hath been the increaſe of man-ſlaughter, and the continuance of enmity. Happy ſhall the ſubjects alwayes be of that wiſe Prince, who doth countenance accuſations, and check calumnies.

The Latins goe to Turnus *his houſe, prepared to believe all, if they finde that of the armes true; and finding it to be true, they make him*

him priſoner; they aſſemble the Councell, and placing Turnus *& his armes in the midſt, the anger of thoſe who ſtood about him did ſo encreaſe, as not allowing him to ſpeake in his defence, they found a new way of death for him in the Ferentine waters.*

IN ſuch like caſes as this, it is equally capitall to be accuſed, and to have conſpired: there is no defence but impoſſibility; a poſſibility of conſpiracy is no ſooner ſeene, but the conſpiracy is believed: likelihood, if of good things, cauſeth ſo earneſt a deſire of them, or if of bad, ſuch a feare, that it leaves no place for conſideration of the truth, becauſe it affords not time for the ſifting of it. Conſpiracy affrights the heart, & ſtupifies the members; who heares it, is apter to ſay, I ſhould not have believed it, than I do not believe it. Slander ſeems to be there impoſſible, when the accuſation ought to be capitall to the accuſer, if it prove not ſo to the accuſed: in all other

ther caſes helpe may bee hoped for from adherents; in this to defend another, is to offend ones ſelfe, who ſhewes himſelfe a friend, ſeems a confederate. Judgment cannot rightly be given, whether the accuſed ought to dye or not, till ſuch time as he be dead, becauſe the truth of the conſpiracy cannot be knowne till the danger be over.

In thoſe waters where *Turnus* loſt his life, the Latins almoſt loſt their Liberty. Liberty of life ceaſeth, when liberty of ſpeech ceaſeth; and it is hatefull to a Tyrant, becauſe it is neceſſary for a Common-wealth: he cannot be ſaid to be maſter of himſelfe, who hath his tongue ſubject to another; one only who feares not to ſpeak, and knowes when to ſpeak, will cauſe feare in a thouſand: they with-hold themſelves from doing ill, who are ſure to hear thereof; and one free-man that hath braines, is ſufficient to ſave a whole City, which is in hazard of being loſt through ſilence. Liberty belongs to equals, flattery to inferiours, the one is the Common-wealths Nurſe, the other the Tyrants foſter-mother.

It is true, and I have already ſaid it, that

that *Turnus* was not cautious in the handling of Liberty; but in his caſe it had been al one, even with them that had gone about it never ſo wiſely; it was not his death which damnified the common-wealth, it was the example of his death.

Tarquin ſummons the Latins again to Counſell, hee praiſeth the revenge they have taken of one that was ſeditious; he deſires them to renew their league and friendſhip with the Romans.

THe propoſition peradventure was not pleaſing, yet was it entertained, though much beneath the Latins; & to ſay truth, who was there that would gain-ſay *Tarquin?* who was there that had a minde to follow *Turnus* his footeſteps, which led to the Ferentine waters?

He who is hated, ſo as he be alſo feared, though he have not mens good wil yet hee uſeth his will and pleaſure with them; he is obeyed, if not loved: nothing is granted unto him, nor any thing denyed him. Terribl-

Terrible examples, though they rob us not of power, yet they take from us the ſoule of that power, becauſe they take our courage from us; they incite anger, but accompanied with fear: from which conjunction, hatred and cowardiſe ariſeth. The death of one great man, if it be ſingle, may well produce hatred, but makes not that hatred dangerous, becauſe it is not accõpanied with deſpair it brings with it all the good which Princes think to reap by being cruell, & not all the inconveniencies. A preſent good action is able to make a paſt bad one be forgotten, when it is thought the like will not again be done. One harſh note in muſicke, is not only allowable, but makes the harmony the more pleaſing, ſo as it be but one, and be followed with a concord.

Tarquin *commands that all the armed youth aſſemble themſelves together in the Ferentine wood; where all the people being met, & having for their greater ſecurity, mingled together the Roman and Latin*

Latine Colours, he there-out framed an Army.

THis way of ſecurity, is not very ſafe: a knowne ſigne among them, diſtinguiſheth them from confuſion, and confuſion is onely hurtfull to the cauſer. With what courage will hee fight, who ſtands in continuall feare either of being abandoned, or not followed by his companion? An army compoſed of ſundry Nations, like me well, out of another reaſon: they ſeldome mutiny all together, becauſe they joyntly underſtand not one another; and many times there is cauſed ſuch an emulation amongſt the ſeverall parts, as in the whole makes an harmony, when it is not accompanied with the diſagreeing notes of hatred; & this alſo if the parts bee more than two, wil not leſſen the ſweetneſſe of the concordance, though it increaſe the commanders labour. When one ſide mutinies, the other is quiet, expecting profit for not having mutinied: when one ſide advances it ſelf againſt the enemy, the other endeavours to be as forward, holding it a ſcorne to be behinde: they have

two

two incitements to fight valiantly, their own particular honour, and the honour of their Nation.

The general is the groundwork of the muſick, the other parts if there be no diſcord amongſt them, makes not harmony with him; and making it with him, they altogether make up a moſt exact conſort. All his difficulty lyes in ſo behaving himſelf, as his affection may be a center equally diſtant from all the parts of the circumference; 'tis the like diſproportion that the whole becom a part, as that the Commander become partiall

He wages War againſt the Volſians, *he by force takes from them* Sueſſa, *and* Pometia; *he reſerves the prey, to build a Temple to* Jupiter.

Tarquin *was a wicked Prince, but a valiant Captain.*

IF evill hath no eſſence, what would become of it, were it not ſupported by goodneſs? this it is, that is the groundworke

work of the worlds worſt things; it is that which maintains ſin: to be valiant in warre, if it ſecures not tyranny, it at leaſt prolongs it: It ſuffers not feare to become contemptible, which arrives at the degree of being ſhamefull, when a Prince is feared, becauſe his command is of force, not becauſe hee is worthy to command. All cruelties are bad enough, but they are better endured in a Commander of worth, than in one of noeſtimation: in the one weakneſſe is diſcerned, and hath feare for its companion; in the other fierceneſſe, and hath daring for its companion. Men always go with a kind of reverence, when they aſſault their Maſter, and with feare alſo, when that Maſter is a brave fellow: and where fear and reverence once enter, conſpiracies ſeldome ſucceed well. It behoves that ſubjects, to the end that they may patiently endure a tyrant, confeſſe him to be a great Prince, if they acknowledg him not to be a good one.

Valour is a kind of Beſar, which comforts the hearts of ſubjects, that they may the better endure a tyrants venome; but they ſeldome arrive at ſuch a degree

of vertue, as makes them tolerable; and when they do arrive there, then they are the more ſecure, but not altogether out of danger: 'tis true, that reputation may defend ſeverity, but not cruelty; and if cruelty, ſuch as is uſed in armies, not ſuch as is practized amongſt Citizens.

A cruell tyrant could be no where better than in a Camp, were he but ſecure of his Citizens. Thoſe vices which are inſufferable in a City, are ſufferable in an Armie; 'tis no new thing there to ſee blood, where nothing but blood is ſhed; and military diſcipline, if it may not admit of a cruell Prince, requires often a ſevere one.

If warre encounter with a tyrant, who naturally is given to blood, it augments his cruelty; becauſe the uſe of ſeeing dead men takes mercy totally away, if it meet with one who uſeth cruelty, becauſe he would not be deſpiſed, whilſt it affords him occaſion of making himſelfe glorious, it takes from him the occaſion of being cruell. Hence it is, that the obtaining of victories is ſometimes poyſon to Princes; and on the contrary, an antidote

tidote to tyrants: the one ſort being already in ſafety, finde themſelves oft-times egged on by victory to thoſe vices, from which feare kept them backe: the other already famous, finde themſelves with-held by glory from thoſe vices whereunto the doubt of being deſpiſed, had incited them.

Tarquin *beſiegeth the* Gabians, *but being driven from their Walls, and deſpairing to overcome them by Roman Art, he hath recourſe unto his treacheries; wherein his youngeſt ſonne interpoſing himſelfe, we may imagine that* Tarquin *being himſelfe moſt wicked, did moſt wickedly, in ſome ſuch ſort as this encourage him.*

WEe *have in vaine, O* Sextus, *by force aſſated the* Gabins, *nought now remaines but craft, which is the ſecond meanes of greatneſſe; force being the firſt, craft is good to adde force to things already acquired; force is requiſite to maintain what is*

is gotten by craft: The one of it ſelfe is of no uſe, the other without reliſh. I ſurely ſhould not put this behind what ever elſe, for what concernes the augmenting of States, were it not a weapon which oft loſeth his edge, when it is firſt made uſe of. Who will availe himſelfe of wiſdome, ſhall be alwaiſe good, but not alwaiſe great. Libertie were not neceſſarily naturall to man, were not force and craft to be uſed in his ſubjection.

No people are overcome but by ſome means, and that means deſerveth praiſe, becauſe it hath prevailed. They are to be blamed, I confeſſe, who have offered at a tyrannous government, but not they who have effected it. Tyranny is a flame, which at the firſt ſends forth ſmoake, burnes bright at laſt; and becomes alwaies moſt cleare, as it findes leaſt reſiſtance.

That which many account infamy, is for the moſt part overcome by the rumour of victory, or by time quite extinguiſhed: moſt Princes, are Princes, becauſe their predeceſſours have been Tyrants.

To become great, it is not ſufficient not to feare the ſword, if either mens tongues or pens be feared; they blame all means, whereby they may be brought in ſubjection: to pur-

chaſe immortall fame, it ſufficeth that all ones actions bee great; equall renowne is got by a good and by a bad report, if they be equall great.

Thoſe Philoſophers which the world cals wiſe, I call crafty; they are weake people, therefore blame violence: abject, therefore blame greatneſſe: poore, therefore praiſe poverty.

They teach to be contented with little, becauſe they themſelves cannot attaine to much; and that which being neceſſity would cauſe them bee pitied, they would make the world beleeve were vertue, that they might be admired; every one that hath braines in his head, ſeeketh priority, and who cannot get it amongſt men, ſeekes for it amongſt children.

What d e they intend when they blame greatneſſe, but to make themſelves be beleeved great; ſince not being ſo, and paſſing their time in reſt and quietneſſe, as drowned in a lothſome idleneſſe, they ſeeke to abaſe, nay to hurry downe thoſe glories which the moſt renowned Princes of the world have woon with their ſo much labour and danger. Great ſure is their humility, who being the moſt contemptible of all the world, would make themſelves bee beleeved greater, than who are greateſt. They contend againſt nature, and

yet

yet would ſublimate themſelves contrary to the will of Fortune; they teach all things to be contemptible, ſave ſuch qualities as they are endowed withall, though thoſe be of all other moſt contemptible; but what will you? they praiſe thoſe vertues as chiefeſt, which make them greateſt.

Wee all aime at the ſame thing; every one blames that courſe which hinders him. They praiſe humility, poverty, and continency, even to the Skies, becauſe their ſo doing makes them ſeeme great; wee all fiſh in the Sea, but with differing tooles; one takes a Minim, the other a Whale.

Goe then my ſonne to the Gabins, ſeem as if you fled from mee; accuſe me of cruelty, indevour their confidence, behave your ſelfe as one of their companions, if you will attaine to command.

Wee may beleeve that thoſe moſt wicked leſſons were given to a ſonne, to inſtruckt him in villany. Hee obeyes, flies to the Gabins; *and 'tis likely that in the midſt of them he broke into ſuch like words as theſe:*

LOe here a ſonne, O Gabins, eſcaped from his fathers ſword, to ſhield himſelfe in his enemies armes! he brought me up as a ſacrifice, to make an oblation of me to the Temple of cruelty: if fathers be enemies, it behoves enemies be fathers.

Hee would cauſe the ſame lonelineſſe in his Family, which he hath done in the Senate; he knowes not how to be father, neither of his Countrey, nor children. All his thirſt is after bloud; hee onely covets rule, that he may kill. He covets the command of Cities, onely that hee may diſpeople them. Hee likewiſe would deſtroy father-hood it ſelfe, perhaps becauſe it reſembles Principalitie.

His cruelty is a fire, which alwaies burnes what is next unto it, that after other things it may conſume it ſelfe. He ſeekes his ſonnes bloud, cloyd with the bloud of ſo many Citizens, for his further delight, he muſt needs uſe ſome extraordinary cruelty.

He ſeeth he hath ſonnes, hee thinkes them like himſelfe; he feares them, becauſe he feares himſelfe. The conſciouſneſſe of his own miſdeeds, corrodes him; he feares his owne immagination, which onely repreſents unto him horrible things; and he thinking to take courage, betakes himſelfe afreſh to murther:

and

and by how much the more hee imbrues his hands in bloud, that he may free himſelfe from fearing others, hee feares himſelfe the more. A Tyrant would not know what to deſire, if after having committed ſo many man ſlaughters, he ſhould forget the having committed them: fortune may well free him from puniſhment, but nothing from feare; his feare endures as long as doth his life.

'Tis ſafer to be Tarquins *enemie, than his ſonne; there is no ſuch way as enmity to free ones ſelves from being aſſaſſinated by ſuch a one.*

Startle not, O yee Gabins, *at my being begot by* Tarquin; *Children doe not alwaies reſemble their fathers: a tender worme ſometimes hath its beginning from a knotty peece of wood. If things begotten did not oftimes differ from things begetting, there would be no variety of individuals, but only a diverſity of ſpecies; and the world, deprived as it were of its beauties, would remaine alwaies in the ſame ſtate.*

'Tis I, 'tis I, that will revenge ſo many villanies; the fates will have it ſo. Tyrants are like fruit, like iron; they from their own ſubſtance produce the ruſt which conſumes them, the wormes which devoure them.

If love to fathers were naturall, brute beasts would likewise observe it: and how many children doe wee see adulterously begotten, who love those as their fathers, who are not so?

If he begot me, 'twas either out of the itch of sense, or incitement of ambition, either to delight or to eternize himselfe: and if he did desire a childe, he did not desire mee for that childe; and what obligation owe I then to him, who desired my life when hee knew mee not; and knowing me, desires my death.

The Gabins *entertaine him; they beleeve, their beleefe springs from their desire.*

THis alone oft-times brings forth monsters, because it couples with chimera's: great desire is subject to great deceit; or rather he may almost be safely cozened, who vehemently desires: hee beleeveth what he covets, possible: hee frames arguments to make himselfe beleeve it, and thinkes his understanding who deceives him, jumps with his conceit. The wisest many times run upon this rocke; for the object of a prevailing passion

paſſion ſuddenly preſented, is of equall force with a load-ſtone: the ſenſe which ſeeth it, thinkes not it needs the helpe of reaſon to judge it; it firſt allowes it, and then diſputes; and oft-times findes it not to be poyſon, till it begin to worke.

Sextus Tarquin *ſeemes not willing to meddle in civill affaires, he perſwades them to truſt him with what belongs unto the warre: and ſo behaves himſelfe, that having ſome ſmall bickerings with the Romans, he came alwayes off with the beſt.*

THis is a heat which ſeemes naturall, as if it cheriſhed, when indeed it is feveriſh, becauſe it burnes.

Sonnes are like their fathers, when their mothers differ not in manners from their fathers. *Sextus Tarquin* ſhould have thought himſelf worſe than his father, in that *Tullia* was his mother more wicked than her husband.

Who alwayes doubts, is never deceiv-

ved; wiſe men beleeve nothing but what they ſee, and what they ſee, they often doubt of.

Suſpition is no fault, but the bewraying of it, a great one; wherein can a man bee injured by his not beleeving, when hee reapes the like profit as if hee did beleeve, and yet is wary as if he did not beleeve? The beſt rule which can be given for living in ſafety, is alwayes to fain beleefe, yet alwayes doubt. Things onely which belong to God, ought to be beleeved, not examined: Hee is the very truth it ſelfe; he is not falſe, no deceiver: yea it is he that teacheth us not to beleeve men, becauſe they are all lyars.

If men were what they ought to bee, they ſhould bee accordingly dealt withall; but corrupt bodyes require not ſolid meat.

The wary will never erre in their beleeving little, and the inconſiderate will ſeldome but erre in their over eaſie beleefe. 'Tis true, that hee who cannot make uſe of incredu'ity, will runne into as many errours, as hee who is too credulous.

Suſpition

Suſpition doth well in all things, not that wee ſhould let ſlip all things, but that wee ſhould bee in all things cautelous. Incredulitie ſhould make a man be adviſed, not irreſolute; nay, ſometimes to compaſſe great actions, it is neceſſary we recommend ſomewhat to Fortune, wiſedome not being able to ſecure us in all things; which fortune moſt commonly (let others ſay what they liſt) ſides with the wiſe, or for that ſhee followes them better, or for that they lay better hold on her.

The *Gabins* might have ſo entertained him, as if he had told truth, he might have availed them; if otherwiſe, done them no harme.

Hee is affable unto them all, juſtly divides the ſpoiles; will bee their companion; nor ſhewes any ſuperioritie, ſave in valour. And ſo ties the hearts of the people to him, as his authoritie amongſt the Gabins, *is not inferiour to* Tarquins, *amongſt the Romans.*

THis Ettridge, which ſeemes as if hee would cut the ayre with his feathers, hath wings to couſin, not to flye withall; hee ſwallowes Iron, diſgeſts it not, but renders it up againe; Hee like a ſtage-Player, puts on the ſemblance of doing like a Prince, not of being a Prince; and if of being a Prince, in no other manner, than as the picture of a man may be ſaid to be a man.

'Tis true, hee knew how to be good; hee might have beene good, but would not.

Thoſe who value daring, more than wiſdome, thinke nothing glorious, but what they have with their daring won. The reputation of a good Prince reliſheth not with them; they covet the ſharpneſſe which Tyrannie brings with it, and honour moſt what makes moſt noyſe; they thinke that braines are made for contemplation, not for government.

This is the ruine of youth; the moſt of them beleeve that true wiſdome conſiſts in being couragious; and are not aware that whileſt they ſeeke after the fame of valiant, they purchaſe the title of

of foole-hardy; and no greater misfortune can befall a man, than to have a heart, and to want braines.

He ſends a meſſenger to his father, to let him know what hee hath done, and to heare from him what he would have him doe.

The counſell which Tarquin *gave his ſonne, was the ſame which* Periander *gave* Traſybulus. *He leads the Embaſſadour into a garden, where with a wand hee tops of the heads of the higheſt flowers.*

ALl men walking in the fields, or diſporting themſelves in gardens, caſt their eyes ſuddenly upon ſuch a flower or ſimple, as is higher than the reſt, and breake it off; or for that the hatred of pride is ſo naturall, as it makes not only him, who is endued with it, inſufferable, but whatſoever repreſents it; or by vertue of an exquiſite imagination, which making it appeare to us diſſonant

dissonant and deformed, will not permit us with patience to suffer it: or else it may proceed from the easinesse of cutting it shorter: for all such things as doe eloigne themselves from the equality of others, eloigne themselves also from their defence.

It is not good in gardens for any plant to be greater than the rest, unlesse it be a Tree, whose bulke makes it not easie to be snapt in two. A flower which is higher than another is topt off: a taller Tree is seen with admiration; so in Citi·s, he who will be esteemed and not cut short, must if a Citizen, be equall; if Superior, a Prince. He whose fortune or valour hath made him higher than others, let him stoope till they be equall. Let him not expose himselfe to eyes, if hee will shunne hands; otherwise he causeth envy in those who ought to bee his equals, because he hath out-stript them, feare in him who should be his Superiour, because he equals him.

Such a flower is easily topt off. All great men are enemies to a greater; and so much the more implacable, by how much neerer him they are; But the Common

Common people which hate the Magiſtracie of great men, reverence a great man: or rather becauſe they hate the former, they love a greater man, and ſuffer him not willingly to bee cut off, becauſe they admire his beauty, injoy his ſhade, and by his leaves grow fat. To baniſh, to tranſplant him, and not cut his rootes; to make him loſe the City, and not loſe his power, is a buſineſſe ill undertaken; he loſeth not his reputation amongſt his friends, if hee wins credit amongſt ſtrangers; hee is deſired in the City, and hee deſires the City; whereinto not able to returne a Subject, he ſometimes endeavours to returne Maſter.

Sextus *underſtands his wicked fathers counſell; and by ſundry meanes hee baniſheth ſome of the chiefe Citizens; puts ſome to death, and leaveth way for ſome to eſcape; and dividing all their goods amongſt the common people, by the ſweet of profit, hee luls them into lethargie,*

from

from which they never did awake, till the Gabines *libertie was at an end.*

CRuell actions are ſo many *bolus*, which are never better taken, than when wrapt up in gold. Tyrants, who being wiſe, are likewiſe liberall, have a good ſtocke to leane unto, but they ſeldome take that way; and if they doe, they keepe not long in it, for cruelty is ſeldome without avarice, by which if it be not cauſed, it cauſeth it.

The publike good is a ſpecious name; it is ſought for with relation to the Priva e; otherwiſe, men would cooperate as well under a good Prince, as under a Common-wealth.

That doctrine of Phyloſophers, that private good may bee preferd before the common good, is as pernicious when it beares with it ſuch a proportion, as the allowing wine to the ſicke of a Fever. When ſenſe is the incitor, things granted are alwayes exceeded, all rules enlarged, and an eaſie paſſage is made from things conditionall, to things abſolute; who

who will take away the pravitie of feeling, muſt not give way to the pleaſure of ſeeing.

Where liberty is, if great men be Magiſtrates, they are hatefull to the people; they willingly ſee them abaſed, nor are they aware that they are bankes reared up, which though they hinder the ſight, yet withſtand inundations. The common peoples hatred to the Senate is ſo naturall, that they continue it, yea, under Princes; and Princes in my opinion (at leaſt in this reſpect) ought to cheriſh a Senate, as a fit place for ſubjects to vent their complaints on, who alwayes more willingly complain of the Senate, than the Prince; either becauſe they envy them more, as being nearer them, or feare them leſſe, as being leſſe powerfull. The Senate matters not much, yet ſerves to breake off the peoples blowes, who paſſionately runne their lances againſt a Saracin of wood; it is like fortune, which doth juſt nothing in the world, and yet is alwayes curſt for doeing miſchiefe.

Tarquin

Tarquin *makes peace with the* Equi, *renewes his league with the* Tuſcans, *and betaking himſelfe to Citie affaires, will finiſh the Temple of* Jupiter Tarpeius.

TYrants are wicked, yea in the building of Temples; they build them not ſo much for worſhip, as to be worſhipped: 'tis rather policie, than religion. A wicked peece of Piety, to build great Temples out of a deſire of becomming great, to ſeeke worldly honour by things divine, to make God a cloake to hide ambition, and nouriſh our deſires. The ſcumme of the people partake of the Chyromancer; they will ſee the hand, to judge the heart: but how many are there who preſent themſelves before God with hands of gold, and hearts of clay? Monuments of ſtone are fading; what is expoſed to the injuries of time, cannot defend us from being thereby devoured. Good men need not to have their names written in Marble, whoſe actions live in the memories of men:

had

bad men ſhould not ſeeke to eternize their memories by Monuments, ſince oblivion is the greateſt happineſſe can befall them.

The Temple being built, wherein hee had imployed the people; he fell to the cauſing of certaine common Sinkes be cleanſed.

TO ſet people accuſtomed to war, about ſordid buſineſſes, doth irritate them againſt the ſetter on, and abaſeth them in the eyes of their enemies.

The firſt and principall ſecret of Tyranny, is to keepe friendſhip with the people, which the oppreſſion of great folkes hinders not, but augments: 'tis the nature of all things, that one part riſe as another fals; if it bee not raiſed, 'tis eaſed: the people covet quietneſſe, plenty, ſafety, to live, and ſuffer others live. That which is hardeſt to a Prince, is eaſieſt to a Tyrant, whileſt the latter practiſeth upon the Nobility, the other is by the Nobility hindred, which oft-times doth tyrannize, when not tyrannized.

I hold

I hold it ever a difficult thing to maintaine a Principality in a City, where the people and great men doe both agree in the desire of liberty, unlesse it bee done without weapons. 'Tis evidently seene, that *Tarquin* was no Tyrant by Art, but Nature; not for his safety, but delight: the people like better of a Tyrant, than of liberty; when liberty is not popular, and the Tyrant wise. A Tyrant hath none on whom more to trust, nor whom more to feare; hee hath no better friend, no worser enemy; hee was therefore wise, as I beleeve, who thought the government of a bad Prince, and an uncorrupted people, profitable for a City; the one is a curbe to the Tyrant, the other to the Nobility. A Prince kept within bounds, a people not corrupted, and an humbled Nobility, makes an excellent composition.

Whilest the Romans were intent upon their affaires, a great prodigie appeares. A Serpent is seene to come out of a Columne

of

of wood, which frightens, and puts to flight all the Court.

PRodigies which are fore-runners of things to come, are ſeldome regarded before the things bee come to paſſe; and if they bee ſometimes regarded, yet are not they underſtood. Many have beleeved, that in man alſo there are certaine ſeedes of Divination of future things, not knowne till they be paſt; I grant it, and ſhould beleeve them to bee the motives of our tutelary Angels, were it not that they are unuſefull, either for proviſion, or previſion. I feare me the Devill is the framer of prodigies; it ſeemes to bee the aime of one proud and envious. He ſhewes us things to come, that he himſelfe might reap honour; he ſuffers us not to know them, that wee may not thereby reape profit; or ſhall we ſay that thoſe Starres which threaten or promiſe good or bad influences, whileſt they diſpoſe the matter, endevour to introduce the forme, and whileſt they doe introduce it, doe produce in ſuch a place, ſuch a thing, ſuch a man, many things which precede, which

which accompany, and which follow; which though they bee not alwayes the ſame things, yet come they alwayes from the ſame things. That conſtellation which moveth the Serpent to enter the Court, is the ſame which moveth *Brutus* to drive out *Tarquin* from thence. Great alterations require great influences, which when they cauſe great diverſity in their working, happens not becauſe the influences are divers, but becauſe they are diverſe who receive them. Actions are not done by their Agents in an inſtant; diſpoſitions precede them, the truth of whoſe effects wee doe not know, becauſe the vertue of cauſes is unknowne to us.

Moreover, men of themſelves underſtand not things to come, becauſe while they ſeeke the helpe of Reaſon they loſe the aſſiſtance of the ſtarres; they with their diſputes confound the motives of Nature; it is, perhaps, to puniſh our raſhneſſe, which willing to make uſe of the underſtanding, to arrive at that, where the underſtanding cannot ſometimes arrive, goes not thither, whither Nature would lead it; its motive is on the

the ſudden, whileſt there is neither thought nor diſpute about it, it is not minded, becauſe not diſputed; and therfore good, becauſe not diſputed. Hence it is that women adviſe well on the ſudden, and that children and fooles propheſie; they ſay what heaven, not reaſon dictates to them.

Tarquin *ſends his two ſonnes,* Titus *and* Arons, *to the Oracle; who take along with them,* Junius Brutus, *their ſiſters ſonne; whom he had not only ſuffered to live after having ſlaine his brother, but for his fate permitted him to keepe company with his ſonnes.*

WIcked men doe often ruine themſelve, through Gods not permitting them to be wholly wicked (otherwiſe the world would bee deſtroyed.) It ſeldome happens, that together with the feare of God, they loſe the ſhame of infamy; all wickedneſſe would ſucceed

ſucceed well to them, were they not many times hindered by a deſire of honeſting them; and ſo whilſt they will be wicked, and appeare good, they either undertake no greater wickedneſſe, or elſe it ſucceeds not; but bee it as you pleaſe; let the Tyrant have ſtrayed from reaſon in whatſoever manner, hee hath not loſt the deſire of glory: it is true though, that hee who erres in the generall, as he perſwades himſelfe, that what is bad, is good; ſo knowing no other difference in the atchieving of renowne, than the greatneſſe or poorenеſſe of the undertaking; he endevours ſometimes a great fame, though purchaſed by never ſo great an infamy.

This Brutus *who knew no greater ſafety under the Tyrant, than ſcorne and neglect, where a greatly good and greatly bad fame are equally dangerous, where Juſtice is not regarded, where knowledge is pernitious, betakes himſelfe to madneſſe, and aſſiſted by his being*

being naturally given to melancholy, by counterfeiting ſecures himſelfe, leaving nothing for the Tyrant either to deſire or feare.

MElancholy men doe ſo reſemble mad-men, that when they are not buſied about any thing, but idle, I cannot diſtinguiſh them from mad-men, I had almoſt ſaid from beaſts; but when they doe any thing, I know them to be very wiſe, I had almoſt ſaid, they contend with the intelligences. No other cloud, ſave *Brutus* his melancholy humour, could have ſhaded the Sun-beames of a great underſtanding; all other humours would either not have long deferd revenge, or for ever forgotten it. Long uſe of meates may change the habit of the body; long counterfeiting may ſhape a new habit in the underſtanding; for cuſtome hath power to make that become naturall, which is not ſo.

Melancholy, which is not the dregges, but pureſt part of the bloud, which is no coale, but precious jewell, is that which

which produceth *Heroes*, ſince bounding upon madneſſe, it brings men to a ſublimitie, out of which one cannot paſſe, and within which all our wiſedomes latitude extends it ſelfe.

He is greatly wiſe, who under a Tyrant can counterfeit a fooles part; it is a good peece of cunning, if the cunning be not diſcovered, for it is harder to play the foole, than to be wiſe; and I ſhould hold it to be a very ſafe way, were not one only action ſufficient to take off the diſguiſe, having no meanes of ever reſuming it againe.

Brutus *who was Maſter of this Art, with the turning of the Scene, ownes himſelfe.*

He makes himſelfe knowne when hee drives out the Tyrant; hee unmaskes himſelfe at the laſt Scene; every one commends him, when they conſider him, becauſe they conſidered him not till the end of the Tragedie.

Tyrants

TYyrants ought more to feare thoſe who cloake their paſſions, than thoſe who diſcover them; theſe ſtand nakedly expoſed to the injuries of who hath a mind to hurt them; the other defend themſelves behinde the trenches, from ſuch as aſſault them, that they may ſally forth when it is fit time to make aſſault. The warily adviſed, and harebrained fool-hardy, flattery and liberty, are equally dangerous to a Prince; that man never ſufficiently to be praiſed, who ſpeaking of a Tyrant, left in writing, how he feared liberty, and hated flattery; perhaps might as well have ſaid, that he hated liberty, and feared flattery.

They come to the Oracle, and after having made knowne their Fathers deſires, they make enquiry touching the ſucceſſion of the Kingdome; a voyce was heard to anſwer, he of you ſhall reigne, who ſhall firſt kiſſe his mother: the two brothers agreed, not to ſpeake of this to Sextus, *who ſtaid at Rome,*

and to commit it to Fortune, which of them ſhould firſt kiſſe their mother: but Brutus, *ſeeming as if he fell, kiſt the earth, as he who knew the anſwers of Oracles, not to bee ſo cleare, but full of a thouſand ambiguities.*

THE Devill did not this as knowing what was to come, but he told what was to come, that hee might procure that that might afterwards happen which hee had fore-told; he endevoured it to winne himſelfe credit, God permitted it to puniſh humane arrogancy, it may be alſo the truth of Aſtrologicall predictions are rather cauſed by the Devil, than by the Stars; ſo by God permitted to confound our raſhneſſe, whereby it happens, that when we would foretell things, wee doe it by the Devill. The deſire to know things to come, is a deſire to bee like God, and this was the fore-runner of originall ſinne: who tels them, is preſumptuous; who inquires after them, is vaine. Some ſeeme deſirous to ſearch into them, that they may en-

encounter the good which thereby is promiſed, and ſhunne the evill which is thereby threatned; and many times by incountring the good, they loſe it, and by ſhunning the evill, they meet with it; but they ſeeke after them, that they may finde what they deſire; which if they finde not, they beleeve them not; they begge food for their preſent ambition, with the deceitfull hopes of future greatneſſe.

They returne with their anſwer to their Father, whom they find hath waged warre with the Rutuli, and beſieged Ardea.

TArquin would make good his expences by the riches of that people, and by ranſaking that City reunite his ſouldiers hearts, who were not well ſatisfied in their having changed their ſwords into mattocks; and the emptying of their enemies boſome of bloud, into emptying of ſinkes.

When the Treaſury is emptied by magnificent expences, it is filled againe by wicked meanes.

Some Philoſophers have held it good that Cities ſhould bee poore, that they might bee ſafe; they would have them ſhunne envy, which hardly can be ſhund without falling into the hands of compaſſion. It is better being rich than poor; riches may at any time bee left, but not poverty: The worſt that can befall a proſpering City, is the happineſſe which they wiſh it: theſe are things which heard of *è cathedra*, make men lowre; but out of the Schooles provoke to laughter. If riches move deſire, they are likewiſe a help to defence. For one time that a Prince is incited to invade States for the increaſe of his revenues; hee is a thouſand times ſpurd thereunto, out of a deſire to enlarge his bounds. Warre is not uſually good merchandize, whereby to become rich, but whereby to become great; more is conſumed in the acquiring, than the thing acquired is worth; the gaine is alwayes uncertain, the loſſe certaine.

Whilſt they were beſieging of Ardea, which ſiege was more tedious, than otherwiſe troubleſome; Collatine,

latine, *and other young men, ſupt one night with* Sextus Tarquin, *& warmed with overmuch wine, there grew a contention amongſt them concerning their wives, each praiſing his owne above the reſt: they reſolve to goe finde them out forthwith, that they may be certaine of the truth.*

WIne moleſts the fancie, by ſending up into the braine many groſſe vapours; it bounds them not, becauſe they are humid; it agitates them, becauſe they are hot; and whilſt by its ſteame it repreſents many fancies, it affords occaſion of ſpeaking much, and conſidering nothing; it is good to make mens hearts bee knowne, but not their braines: where there is no cold, there is no judgement; where no drineſſe is, there is no weighing of words.

Men are all prone to thinke well of their wives; whether it proceeds from their husbands great deſire that they ſhould bee ſuch, or from their cunning in appearing ſuch; or from the gift of

Nature, which is never wont to be defective in things neceſſary: for I am of opinion, that if all things were known in them as they are, and not much beleeved of them, which is not, either more liberty ought to bee allowed to women, and ſo change the law of honour; or if the former ought to be preſerved, the latter ought more ſtrictly to be reſtrained; ſince through the misfortune of the Generall, there are very few of them that are good, and through the good fortune of individuals, every man beleeves his to be one of them; whence it happens that a great part of worldly felicity is taken upon truſt, conſiſting more in beliefe, than reall being.

Men ought not talke of their wives, no not when ſober; who ſpeakes ill of them, incurres blame, for it is the husbands fault if the wife bee bad; who peakes well of them, is in danger to be practiſed upon, becauſe hee moves deſire, men deſire the good they poſſeſſ: ſhould be knowne; and oft-times whilſt they make it knowne, they make it bee poſſeſt: it is true that reall good is in its owne eſſence communicable, and by being

being communicated, receives increaſe: but ours, which is but an apparition, if communicated, is many times loſt. Praiſe, if it be of any thing within us, is to be deſired, becauſe it cannot be taken from us; if of any thing without, or forth of us, it ought to be avoyded, becauſe it may bee taken from us; praiſe makes it bee deſired, and deſire makes us loſe it: I wonder at thoſe men who complaine of their being annoyed, when they have done all they are able to make themſelves bee annoyed: it is a great comfort, it is true, to poſſeſſe things commended by all men; but as Philoſophie, to counterpoiſe the vexations of the intellect, hath placed greateſt honour there, where is greateſt trouble: ſo Nature to counterpoiſe the pleaſure of the ſenſe, hath placed moſt danger there where moſt delight is.

Theſe young men make haſte, firſt to Rome, then to Collatia: they find Lucretia, *not like the Kings daughters in law, feaſting and rioting; but amidſt her women*

dividing out their worke, they grant her the victory; and here being by her husband invited, a baſe luſt ariſeth in Sextus Tarquin, *occaſioned as well by the chaſtitie as by the beautie of* Lucretia: *the looke of a laſcivious man, is like the looke of a Baſiliske, it kills Chaſtitie by beholding it.*

MEn luſtfully given, cauſe all their ſenſes, yea, the underſtanding it ſelfe to miniſter provocations for the ſatisfying of that ſenſe; beauty, birth, ſweet odours, harmony, all which have nothing to doe with feeling; and which is worſe, Vertue her ſelfe, and amongſt vertues, very Chaſtity, the very oppoſite to Luſt, doe more incite thereunto: Vertue is ſo lovely, that ſhee makes her ſelfe bee beloved, yea, even by Vice: thoſe who have written that diſhoneſt women deſire that their lovers ſhould be endowed with all good things, except the underſtanding, underſtood it not well,

well, (or elſe I am deceived) they deſire their underſtandings ſhould alſo bee good in generall, only defective in one particular.

A ſmall matter would ſatisfie the neceſſity of Nature, if men made it not neceſſary to ſatisfie what is not neceſſary; what imports it to be clad in rich array, to live in ſtately Palaces, to feed on dainty cates, if all cloathes cover us, all houſes ſhelter, and all meats ſatisfie us? wee make neceſſity become luſt, to delight our ſelves, yea, in the imperfections of Nature. We thinke not the deſire of one ſenſe ſatisfied, if the other ſenſes ſtand idle: wee cannot taſte any one pleaſure, if therein likewiſe our ambition bee not delighted; no vice is bounded within it ſelfe: in ſuch things nature is not to bee blamed, becauſe they are not ſeen in thoſe who worke only according to Nature.

Many dayes paſt not, ere Sextus Tarquin *returned to Collatia, with one onely companion, not making any mention thereof to the reſt; he was fairely welcomed*

by her who apprended no deceit; he ſupt, withdrew himſelfe to his lodging, and when hee thought that all were faſt aſleep, hee came with a naked dagger in his hand to where Lucretia *lay; hee laid his hand upon her breſt; hee hath recourſe to the inſtruments of hatred, for his aſſiſtance in love; and hee who was wont by ſword to vent his angry paſſions, knows not how to lay it aſide in tendreſt affections; hee threatens her, he ſpeakes her faire, and ſeeing her ready rather to imbrace death, than him; ready rather to loſe her life than honour; he ſayes hee will kill ſome ſervant cloſe by her, to make her be beleeved a foule adultereſſe. See how this wicked one threatens to bereave her of her honour, that hee may bereave her of it.* Lucretia *thus aſſaulted, with the ſame weapons where-*

wherewith ſhe defended her Chaſtitie, yeelded to Tarquins *prevailing luſt.*

I For my part beleeve that *Lucretia* yeelded for fear of death, which certainly is much more fearfull, when expected from another, than when acted by ones ſelf: and if this my opinion were not true, I ſhould have much more cauſe to marvell at thoſe who (under the rule of Tyrants) either deſparing of life, or weary of that kinde of life, have ſlain themſelves. If theſe could not, or would not live, wherefore did they not endeavour to kill the Tyrant? The danger they ſhould have runne, would have been the ſame they could not ſhunne, or deſired to meet withall; the reward which profered it ſelfe unto them, was hope of living honourably, or aſſuredneſſe not to die without glory: to ſay they were with-held by feare of torments, is idle: there is no torment more terrible than death; who feares not death, ought not beleeve any thing of feare to be in the world: and when hee

hee findes ſuch a thing to be, he may alwayes have recourſe to the other. Nature hath not been ſo niggardly towards us, as not permitting us to live as long as wee would, ſhee hath not at leaſt allowed us a power of dying when wee pleaſe; if hee lives not, who breathes not, and if not to breath bee in our choyce, who wil, may die.

Let it then bee lawfull for men to ſay, that death is more horrid in the hands of an incenſed man, than in our owne; and moreover, that it requires more courage, though there be leſſe danger, to kill another, than to kill ones ſelfe; the one proceeds from animoſitie, the other oft-times either from the weakneſſe of the braine, or pooreneſſe of courage; for a generous heart ſeldome findes the way to ſhut, as that he cannot make his death glorious It is a yeelding to Fortune, againſt which the couragious, till their laſt gaſpe, fight undauntedly. How many ſilly women are there who have ſlain themſelves, when they durſt not have looked upon, much leſſe have abided the lookes of an incenſed man? And how many are there, who

to

to ſhunne the enemies ſword, have thrown themſelves downe from rockes, buried themſelves in bogs, and drowned themſelves in water, without any hope of life?

Tarquin *over-joyd, departs triumphant; ſaddeſt* Lucretia *remains overwhelmed with griefe; ſhee ſends for her father and her husband.* Spurius Lucretius *comes and brings with him.* Publius Valerius; Lutius Junius Brutus *accompanieth* Collatine; *ſhee acquainteth them with what is paſt, which ſaid, ſorrowfull as ſhee was, I perſwade my ſelfe ſhee added theſe like words.*

AND *what could unfortunate* Lucretia *doe? if ſhee had died that ſhee might have lived chaſte, you would have thought her ſlain for having beene unchaſte. O moſt cruell Law of Honour, which ſaveſt not the innocent! a law never deſcended from Heaven, but come from the deepeſt* Abyſſe *of Hell.*

I, who would have mine honeſtie known to all, have more ſtudied glorie than chaſtitie; and whilſt I ſought after the name of Chaſte, I am with infamie become unchaſte: I thought death the worſt of all evils; I thought it the cure of all misfortunes; I feared nothing, ſince I feared not to die, yet now I was inforc't to chooſe life, ſo not to loſe mine honour, and by my living have loſt it.

I am reſolved to die, if not for what hath alreadie befallen me, at leaſt for what may hereafter happen unto mee. But what then? If I dye, I ſhall ſeeme to acknowledge I have done amiſſe; they will ſay my guiltie conſcience kild mee.

If I live, you will beleeve I have done amiſſe, you will ſay I conſented out of too much deſire of life. O, of all others moſt unfortunate Lucretia, *whoſe innocencie neither life nor death can juſtifie.*

This Soule (O Collatine*) whoſe delight was chaſtity, abhors now that body which is polluted; and as being wholly thine, cannot endure that that part of mee ſhould have any longer being, which can no more bee onely thine.*

The wicked wretch did never proſtrate mee; it was not Lucretia, *it was a Carkaſſe;*

for

for the Soule is not where it consents not; sinne is the offspring of the will, not of the body; where consent is not, there is no sinne; but I should thinke my selfe worthy of death, if bee had onely desired mee; and blame my self, though without fault, for that I pleased him.

O Beautie, pernitiously coveted by our unsound mindes, you onely serve those that possesse you, that you may be desired by who possesseth you not. Fraile and fading vanitie of the bodie, whereby the eternall beautie of the Soule is sullied; who is indowed with you, or sinneth with you, or causeth sinne through you.

But what was it in me that encouraged that wicked one to so great mischief? perhaps my honesty, which he thought greater than that of others. Most sacred honestie, art thou then become an inciter to lust? and in stead of defending, offendest? Dost thou in stead of bridling desires, egge on to fury and violence?

His heart, where cruelty is harboured, which can kill none but the innocent, is likewise a receptacle of lust, which can covet none but the chaste: to have what they desire, is not that the Tarquins *doe desire; they finde*

no pleaſure where they uſe no force; and like Lightning, rend moſt where they finde moſt reſiſtance.

And whether can unfortunate Lucretia *goe for revenge? to the Kings family, who hath injured me? to mine own friends, whom I have injured? You gods of Hoſpitality, it is you I call upon: but to what purpoſe call I on you, ſince you have permitted it? Revenge me, you infernall powers; but why invoke I you, who were his aſſiſtants?*

I my ſelfe will revenge my ſelfe, and will by death take greater revenge on this mine enemie, than by living.

I will dye, not to leſſen my faults, but to aggravate his; not for that I have ſinned, but to ſhew that ſhe did not ſubject her ſelfe to ſenſe, who voluntarily deprives her ſelfe of ſenſe.

I will die, that I may not live in ſo wretched times, which make life a ſhame; and to be borne, a miſ-fortune. My fall ſhall eaſe your thoughts, make my revenge happie; and I, who will not live an example of diſhonour to women, will die an example of fortitude to men.

This ſaid, ſhee plunged a knife into her heart, and fell downe dead thereon

The Father and Husband ſtood ſhedding unprofitable teares, over the body of Lucretia; *they compaſſionated that chance, which not being naturall, ought rather to have moved anger in them, and animated them to revenge, than have incited them to pitie, and bedewed them with their teares: But* Brutus *the puniſher of teares, drawing the knife from forth the wound, wills them to take an oath to drive out the* Tarquins; *hee ſpeakes not of killing them: Herein his revenge is not of large enough extent, it reacheth not to life; hee will have them ſweare, not to ſuffer any more in Rome, any regall power: herein: it extends it ſelfe too farre, it reacheth*

reacheth to that forme, which is not in fault. But Brutus, *who hated more the Regall power, than the Kings faults, moves rather againſt his State, than life; more to vindicate Romes libertie, than to revenge* Lucretia.

HE who is endowed with valour and wiſdome, makes his paſſions ſerve him in all his achievements; he uſeth vengeance as long as he knowes it uſefull, and thinkes it folly to hazard both life and goods in killing of one, by whoſe death, nothing but the name of revengefull can be purchaſed.

Lucretius chance is the occaſion, not the cauſe of the commotion againſt *Tarquin.*

Some Writers ſay that *Brutus* cauſed her dead body bee carried into the market place: I beleeve hee firſt recounted the caſe with as powerfull exaggarations as hee could, and in the heat of his diſcourſe, ſhewed *Lucretius* body: for certaine, if hee did not uſe this manner of proceeding, he ſhould have uſed

uſed it. Sight moves more than hearing, and gradation ſhould begin with the meaneſt. It is almoſt incredible to beleeve what great effects the repreſentation of ſomewhat to the eye doth worke, what mens hearts are formerly by ſpeech prepared in any Tragicall caſe Few can forbeare from teares, it moves compaſſion in all, anger ſuddenly gets in, and oftentimes fury.

States have no greater enemie than Rhetoricke, ſuch writings ſhould bee burnt, and the teachers baniſht, were not Nature her Miſtreſſe: A wiſe man who is bold and eloquent, is an ill inſtrument for a Common-wealth.

All the Citizens of Collatia take armes, and leaving the Gates well guarded, that the newes may not bee brought to the King, they goe to Rome, where having aſſembled the people, Brutus *having related the adulterie committed by* Sextus Tarquin; *I beleeve he might breake forth into ſome ſuch like exclamation.*

Will

WIll you ſtill ſuffer this ravenous cruell luſtfull Tyrant? To what end doe you bring up your ſonnes? To what end give you education to your daughters? To what end doe you heap up riches? for a cruelltie, which will kill them? for a luſt, which will ſtrumpet them? for an avarice, which will take them from you?

If you beare with him in hopes that hee may change, 'tis vanitie; if becauſe you fear him, 'tis madneſſe: who ſhuns death, encounters with it; and who encounters, ſhunnes it.

A Tyrant is a monſter, he is by nature intended only for a ſcourge to men: hee workes not well to the end he was ordained too, if hee worke not ill: nor beſt nor worſt can be ſafe under him. Hee equally feares and hates the good of good men, and the bad of wicked; and where he findes nothing neither to bee feared nor hated, hee deſpiſeth lukewarmeneſſe.

'Mongſt barbarous people, where bodies governe the minde, where rationality is in habit, not in act, where to command is ſlavery, to obey liberty: let there be regall power; they are people which thinke themſelves free, when they are freed from the burthen of commanding.

To

To desire liberty and shunne servitude, is naturall to very beasts; and man seeming to be of worse condition than brute beasts, which as rationall passe by the greater delights of sense to shunne subjection; he as irrationall, passing by the better reasons of the understanding, precipitates himselfe into servitude, as if slavery were the greatest sensualitie.

The gods have made all soules equall, all bodies of the same materials; and if they endow one species with more nobleneſſe than an other, they doe not so in individuals. Wherefore shall we then make him greater than all, whom nature hath not made greater than any one?

What take you him to bee? hee is a man, and one who hath no more braines than other men, unleſſe when he makes use of other mens braines, who hath no more power than you, but only in that you obey him; shall then your owne power subject you to a braine, which is not that which governes you?

If a Common-wealth be liberty, a Kingdome is servitude; nor is it the more to bee praised if it be voluntary; rather he is more to be blamed who serves out of weakneſſe, than he who serves enforc't by neceſſity.

When time requirs recourſe to daring,

there ought no recourſe bee had to patience: patience doth well in generous breſts, to aſſwage neceſſity, and there it becomes fortitude: In all other places 'tis baſeneſſe of mind, unleſſe it be aſſumed when time ſerves, to be laid aſide when time ſerves.

What is't you expect? perhaps the old Kings death; perhaps yee hope better in a new ſucceſſion; A good Prince is ſeldome followed by a better, a bad one often by a worſe. Nature proceeds thus in humane things: evil of it ſelfe alwayes increaſeth, good alwayes diminiſheth. Who will make the ſonnes better than the father? Their temperature is compoſed of the bloud of two wicked ones; they are educated by a Tyrant, borne in a commanding Family, more proud than Tarquin, *for they are like to be more inſupportable, who brought up in good fortune, have no reaſon to remember or feare bad.*

To ſay that good Princes ought to be begg'd of the gods, and to be borne withall be they what they pleaſe, is an inſtruction how to live, but not how to live well; it belongs to ſlaves, not free men; it hath reſpect rather to the retchleſneſſe of ſubjects, than honour. When a prince cannot be made good, he ought to be driven out bad as he is: he is not to be

be ſuffered, who by ſufferance becomes worſe.

The world is growne ſo corrupt, that a good Prince is not ſo much as to be hoped for. Wiſdome makes him not be the more eſteemed, but craft; the names of things are changed: goodneſſe is termed ſimplicitie; Tyrannie, pollicie: and a prince is thought ſo much the greater, by how much more he hath inlarged his Empire or Authority; nor are the means examined how he inlarged them, hee is praiſed onely becauſe hee hath inlarged them.

Tarquins *luſt is not extinguiſhed by* Lucretias *death: 'twill be more raging if it remaine unpuniſhed. The calamities of others may be a leſſon to you: 'tis true, the good which is learned by what befalls ones ſelfe, is counterpoiſed by diſaſters: he knowes much, to whom much hath befalne; but who can learn by another mans harme, ſay he be leſſe wiſe, hee is for certaine more fortunate.*

To conclude, be a Prince never ſo good, he ought alwayes bee feared, becauſe hee is powerfull; and 'tis better to die ſoone, than to live long in feare.

Let your boſomes be no more expoſed to the loſſe of bloud, for the increaſe of that City

which

which belongs to another; by the gaines whereof you reape nothing but bloud, and wounds; are you not aware that you conquer Nations to Tarquins *tyranny? that by bringing others into bondage, you make your owne ſlavery the greater; and that like wood, you augment that flame which doth conſume you?*

No l ger ſuffer that your hands, accuſtomed by deeds of fame to bring home glorious triumphs, wherewithall to adorne the Capitall, be practiſed in ſordid labour, and emptying vaults of foule uncleanneſſe.

Go to, Citizens; deceive your ſelves no longer through ignorance of your ſelves; henceforward, know your owne ſtrength; loyter no longer in an enterpriſe, which can by nothing bee made difficult, but by loytering. Now that you have one to lead you, you will not want followers. Firſt motions againſt a Tyrant are difficult; to move is to overcome: 'tis hard to finde a leader; every one will follow, a leader being found. All mens wills are alike oppoſite to Tyrants, they are not alike ſhowne becauſe all are not alike daring Ile be your head to drive out your King, your companion in forming of a Common-wealth, the firſt in danger, the laſt in happineſſe.

Brutus

Brutus his words make a ſudden impreſſion in the people: hee who would have them follow him, needs no other bait than the name of liberty. For ought I know 'tis a word of inchantment, which hath not its force within, but without its ſelfe, for I know not what it is.

If by liberty bee intended a power of doing what one will, 'twill turne to licentiouſneſſe, and that government which hath moſt thereof, will be worſt. If thereby be meant a power of doing what is convenient, it needed not be parted from Principality, under which what is convenient hath no leſſe place, than under a common wealth: and if thereby be underſtood a power of commanding others, 'tis ſo much leſſe for the common people which obey, by how much their ſervitude is extended to a number of maſters: but 'tis but a Chimera, which men fain unto themſelves, to bring their wills to paſſe, and oftentimes to ſweeten the beginning of a bitter ſervitude. Barbarous people come ſometimes to that hight of ignorance, that though their feet bee ſhackled, they

thinke their libertie conſiſts in the tongue.

The opinion which was held of *Brutus* his fooliſhneſſe, ſtood him in good ſtead; they thinke it forebodes ſomething, to heare one ſpeake ſo well, who they hardly did beleeve could ſpeake; his ſpeech was then of ſo much more force, by how much it was formerly thought full of weakneſſe: they looke for no cunning in a man, whom they judge in his *puris naturalibus*.

Men who are accounted very wiſe, are by their wiſedome greatly injured: men either hearken not to what they ſay, or weigh not what they hearken to. Every word breeds doubts; they thinke demonſtrations to be the deceits of knowledge, and not the efficacy of truth: as if knowledge were a kinde of leger de maine which cozeneth the eye-ſight. By reaſon of this fatalitie of not beleeving the advice of the wiſe, ſo many men, families, Common-wealths, and Kingdomes runne to ruine.

Brutus

Brutus *departs; and at the ſame time (but by another way) when hee goes to the armie, where he is with applauſe received,* Tarquin *comes to Rome, where as an exilde man he is repulſt.*

'TIs eaſie to ſhut the doore againſt one that is abroad, but 'tis hard to drive one out that is within. 'Twas obſerved as a maxime by a wary Tyrant, and 'twas written by a diſcreet writer, that the Metropolis of the Empire is never to bee abandoned for whatſoever cauſe.

Hee who is upon the place, ſees the originall of tumults; and becauſe beginnings are uſually weake, hee eaſily hinders their proceedings, who with courage and without delay, makes head againſt them.

Many things in the world reſemble ſmoake, their beginning is but ſmall, their end great; and many reſemble the wind, whoſe beginning is boyſterous, and end weake. He ſaves himſelfe from

the former who ſuffers them not to increaſe, from the latter hee who ſuffers them to blow over: progreſſe of time may be expected in the one, where the other ought to be ſmothered in the cradle. Melancholy men are apt to overcome ſuch difficulties as are ſtrongeſt in the beginning; cholericke men, ſuch as gather their force by peece-meale.

Tarquin *retires towards the Tuſcans, and is followed by two of his ſonnes. His youngeſt ſonne* Sextus *flyes to the Gabins, where in ſtead of being received, he was ſlaine.*

A Tyrant either ſtands on the top o' the wheele, or fals to the bottome; his fortune findes no meane where to take footing; the wheele no ſooner turnes, but hee fals headlong downe. The Gabins who formerly did receive him, when clad like a Lambe which flyes from the Wo fe, now knowing him better, opened their gates, not to ſave him,

him, but to ſhut him up. His fate leads him thither, where hee hath treſpaſſed, that thoſe who were injured, might revenge themſelves: hee flyes from one who expels him, and goes to another who kills him.

Sextus *betakes himſelfe to the Gabins, for though he hath loſt that force and reputation, which made him bee feared and eſteemed, yet hee thinking himſelfe rather beloved by them, than but tolerated, not having loſt thoſe qualities which hee thought deſirable, returnes to them.*

THe Tyrant who heares himſelfe flattered, thinkes himſelfe beloved; he thinkes his being had in reverence, to be the fruits of his wiſedome, and becauſe hee makes away with all thoſe whom he hates, hee thinkes nothing remaines for him but love: hee ſeeth himſelfe honoured, and beleeves he doth deſerved

ſerve it; not knowing that it proceeds from his cruelty, not worth.

And wherewithall are men eaſilier deceived, than by being honoured? They ſuddenly imagine in themſelves ſome merit to which it is due; and though ſometimes they know they deſerve it not, they are ſo infatuated with the deſire that the reverence done them ſhould be reall and not fained, as they rather beleeve hee that honours them is himſelfe deceived, than that hee deceives them.

This is the greateſt, of all affections the laſt, which departs not but with the laſt breath; common to both good and bad; affected likewiſe by thoſe who ſeeme not to value it.

Obſervance, reverence, humble bowings of the body, are inchantments, are adulations, which are often done with the feet; and are ſo much worſe than thoſe which are done by the tongue, by how much they ſeeme to bee more lawfull, by how much they are more concealed. The honour therefore which Subjects uſe unto their Princes, ruines them; for they whom for our owne in-

interests we honour, beleeve it done for their deserts; and honour being indeed the reward of vertue, they are not aware that sometimes too it is yeelded to Titles and Riches.

These are the actions done by Lucius Tarquin *the Proud, in the progresse of his reigne of five and twenty yeares; after which* Aristocracie *was constituted.*

BRUTUS was to blame in the framing of the Common-wealth, to make it too much Aristocraticall; for had hee granted in those beginnings a share of government unto the people, hee would not have necessitated them to assume the whole unto themselves; nor would hee have put the Citie in danger of being lost, in those Tumults, wherein if hee did not ruine the Common-wealth, hee did for certaine ruine the forme of that common-wealth. Perhaps, *Brutus* beleeved, the people would give way to the Majestie of the Senate.

States which are maintained by Art, may well continue, if managed by intelligent Arts-men; but this but for a while; Art will bee discovered, nor can it bee concealed, if it bee often used, if the Cocke should tarry long where the Lion is, after having some few times been afraid of his crowing, the Lion would devoure him: when that would bee made seeme to bee, which is not, it must be cursorily done, if any good successe be expected.

Hee who in the beginning of Common-wealths doth constitute the best forme, doth not constitute the most durable; when a man can climbe no higher, and cannot stay himselfe upon a point individible, he must downe againe, and so doing, oftentimes precipitates himselfe. So a Common-wealth reduced to the very best forme, not able to retaine it, whilst it seekes after what is naturall, it oft-times fals upon what is violent, which doth corrupt it. A man must shape his designes according to his materials, and of what he cannot make a Colossus, bee contented to make a Statue no biggar than the life.

The

The moſt part of Cities, which once freed from the hands of Tyrants, have falne into them againe, have done it by reaſon of this: great judgement is required in the founding what forme a Citie is capable of; and one ought not alwaies thinke of forming there a Common-wealth; but ſometimes where a Tyrant is driven forth, a King ſhould be erected, to ſhunne the enſuing of another Tyrant.

There is no man, how wiſe ſoever, who being a former, or reformer, Inſtitutor or Law-maker, doth not commit ſome errours in his firſt Ordinations, Statutes or Lawes, which in the proceſſe of time may ruine his ſtructure, that Machine is only of duration, which in the firſt appearing of errours, or in the correcting of them, runnes not totall ruine.

It is apparent that the Citie of Rome, whoſe people had their weapons in their hands, and were every day verſt in the atchivement of new ſtates, did rather require a Democraticall than Ariſtocraticall government; and that not being to bee withſtood by a greater force, ſhee would

would come to it of her ſelfe; it was therefore her great good fortune, that in approaching thereunto ſhee fell not, becauſe ſhee made her approach leaſurely.

It is worthy obſervation, how the formes of ſtate require a diſpoſed matter, the which they no ſooner finde, but they introduce themſelves: it is not men which conſtitute Common-wealths, or yet Principalities, but a certaine nature or power of intereſt, which though not knowne ſuffers them not to be in quiet, till it hath brought them where they have a great proportion; juſt as it uſeth to befall elements, which not knowing whither they goe, being led by a naturall inſtinct, never are at quiet, till they arrive at that place, which though being naturall unto them, was not knowne by them. Water in its proper ſphere is not heavy; and common people in their naturall forme are eaſily governed, nor can they bee taken out, or with-held from thence, without a not laſting violence.

Had not *Tarquin* beene driven out by *Brutus*, and had the regall power yet a little

little longer endured, I doe almoſt, nay, undoubtedly aſſure my ſelfe, that Rome had never taſted the ſweets of Libertie; not for that the corruptions which were in the King, (as ſome have beleeved,) entring into the other members of the Citie, had diſinabled her for this purpoſe, but becauſe that hee would totally have extinguiſhed the Senate, the memory whereof being forgotten, t'e hope of libertie would have beene likewiſe loſt.

Thoſe Monarchies which are governed Monarchically, where one only commands, and all the reſt obey, have ſeldome an end; but thoſe which by meanes of a Senate are governed Ariſtocratically, end moſt commonly in an Ariſtocracie.

I ſeldome find that the Senate of Rome hath caſt away their chiefe; conſpiracies would be ſudden, and knowne but to a few, here they are ſlow, and knowne to many: the greateſt harme occaſioned hereby to a Prince, is the holding alwayes before the citizens eyes, the picture of Liberty; thoſe who ſee it, deſire it, hope for it; and when they happen upon

upon a Tyrant Prince, there wants not ſome amongſt them, who will adhere to the bringing in thereof.

A Senate when uncorrupted, alwayes endevours equality, and whilſt it endevours that none be greater than other, it is true, it makes a Tyrant lyable to the danger of a Common-wealth, which may ariſe; but it doth almoſt ſecure him from the ambition of ſuch as ſeeke after Principality.

But bee the effects of Senates good or bad to Princes; it is apparent that Princes cannot endure them, and that they endevour to deſtroy them. Some of which leaving the Titles to Magiſtrates, have taken away from them the ſubſtance; and theſe have augmented authoritie, but not ſecured dominion; others have aſſayd to extinguiſh the Senate, by ſuffering the old Senatours to die by courſe of nature, and not ſubſtituting new ones in their places; but this being too tedious a way, requiring the life of more than one Prince, it hath ſeldome ſucceded well, becauſe ſeldome doe two Princes ſucceed of the ſame minde. *Tarquin* had likewiſe this Intent, and to free him-

himſelfe from the difficulty cauſed by the length of time, he put them to death, nor yet did this cauſe good ſucceſſe unto him: A long cruelty is, by the ſpeech of men, too long remembred, and the Prince ſooner ends his life, than his cruelty. Moreover, by reducing the Senatours to a ſmall number, where the forme of a Senat is corrupted, the forme of a conſpiracy is initiated.

There was one, who on the contrary part, did in his firſt entrance into government, at one clap put down a whole magiſtracie, and he had good ſucceſſe in living quietly amongſt his citizens, and likewiſe in ſubduing of ſtrangers, till ſuch time as hee met with greater forces than his owne: this mans caſe, becauſe it ſucceded well, hath beene by ſome wicked men in their writings commended, and his example by ſome lewd Princes imitated; it was neither well written, nor well imitated; the one hath reaped little honour by teaching it, the other little profit by following it.

This did not damnifie *Cleomenes*, for hee did not extinguiſh that Magiſtracie to

to tyrannize, but to reforme the City, and ſhewing that the *Ephori* would have hindred his right end, being of themſelves wicked, that act bore rather the face of juſtice than cruelty: it is not cruelty, when a good Prince puts wicked men to death, becauſe they may not hinder his goodneſſe; and if it bee cruelty, it is not miſ-becomming; but then it is cruelty when a bad Prince puts good men to death, that they may not hinder his wicked proceedings. Hee left no deſire of revenge, becauſe it was calmely executed; nor did he afterwards give any occaſion of revenge, for that to a ſeveere beginning, hee added a pleaſing progreſſe. and as ſmall preſent occaſions, have no great operation, if they be not preceded by weighty paſt cauſes: ſo weighty paſt cauſes have no operation at all, if they want a preſent occaſion.

Tarquin did not only exaſperate the Senate, but made the common people value him but a little, by his imploying them about buildings: which in my opinion was a great cauſe of his ruine.

A Prince who hath the people for his friends, let him take heed of treachery, for hee may almoſt ſecure himſelfe from inſurrections; hee may bee ſlaine, never driven out. I know that people, though never ſo much bound unto their Prince, will ſometimes be provoked by a ſudden ſcorn, or perſwaded by a man of worth. But let him take heed of tumults cauſed by hatred, for ſuch are not to bee withſtood, whereas thoſe that are occaſioned by a flaſh of anger, or fitly applyed eloquence, may bee remedied by deſcretion.

In ſuch a caſe the people doe nought at all, if not in an inſtant; he who hath beene aſſiſted by them in the act, let him feare them when 'tis done; for the act is no ſooner done, than by them repented; and often times they turne themſelves againſt him that did perſwade them, either becauſe they will revenge their Prince, or elſe cancell their owne ſhame. Water which contrary to its nature is heated, no ſooner parts from what did heat it, but it returnes to its firſt condition: the witchcraft of Rhetorique being ended, which is not long a doeing,

or

or the fire of anger being over, which ſuddenly vaniſheth; nothing remaines in the common people but ſhame, for haveing appeared againſt a benefactor.

Hee who writ of ſo many things, and writ ſo maſterlike in all, for the maintaining of Tyranny, praiſes the imploying of the people about building; and yet this was perhaps the cauſe why *Tarquin* loſt his: nor was this onely cauſed by their being rather ſordid than magnificent, but likewiſe by the difference between taking people from a chargeable idleneſſe, imploying them in a uſefull labour, and the taking of them from the moleſtations of warre, imploying them in the labours of the mattocke. Nothing makes the troubles of warre more ſupportable, than the reſt and quiet which is hoped for at home; nor is there any thing encourageth more to fight againſt enemies, than hope of acquiring glory amongſt friends: 'tis ſtrange then, that reſt after warre ſhould bee greater labour, and the glory thereof turned to ſhame.

The examples alledged by that author, are

are either of barbarous people, their Princes ſlaves, and who know no other glory, than their belly: or elſe of Tyrants, who having uſurped the liberty, wherein the people had a large ſhare, had reaſon rather to feare the peoples leaſure times, than the hatred of the great ones. But the Romans were civilized ſubjects, not ſlaves, accuſtomed to warre, wonted to victory, lovers of repoſe, when it did not repugne their glory: but *Tarquin* had not uſurped the peoples liberty, but had rather freed them from the oppreſſion of great ones, over whom till then, hee was onely Tyrant.

Pride likewiſe had her ſhare in *Tarquins* loſſe: by pride Princes thinke to ſhun contempt, and they meet with hatred; they thinke thereby to become majeſticall, and they become deteſted; Majeſty requires mildneſſe, not pride; which is ſignified by them, who did aſſigne both theſe, as inſeparable qualities, to the Eaſterne beames of *Jupiter*. But this is a vice almoſt not to bee ſeparated from great ones; there is nothing makes us more beleeve, that the ſinne of the

chiefeſt Angel in heaven was pride, than becauſe he was chiefeſt. Aſtrologers (ſuppoſe their Art bee vaine) have notwithſtanding united pride to greatneſſe, whilſt they make the Sunne in regard of manners, the infuſer of pride, which in regard of dignity, they make the diſpencer of principalities.

But to what end doe I continue numbring up his errours, if his whole life was one compact error? Hee could not maintaine Tyranny by goodneſſe, accoſting it to Monarchie, nor yet by craft, keeping it farre diſtant from Monarchy: hee was more raſh than politique; more wicked than wary; he lived ill himſelf, he brought up worſe ſonnes; and being himſelfe a wicked King, hee left no hopes of a good ſucceſſour

I deny not but that hee was a valiant Captaine, but to what purpoſe? If warre bee to a Tyrant pernicious, either hee commits the truſt thereof to others, and incurres danger of him who commands the armie, or elſe hee goes himſelfe in perſon, and runnes in danger of thoſe who ſtay behinde. Hee who praiſeth a war-

warlike Tyrant, would (it may be) underſtand it of one that had beene ſo, or at leaſt of one that did not onely wage war with City armes, but likewiſe with thoſe of ſtrangers, wherewithall hee might bridle a tumultuating Armie, or oppreſſe a City that ſhould rebell.

I cannot conclude this my diſcourſe better, than by calling to minde to all thoſe that read it, the thankes due to Almighty God, for having cauſed us to be borne in times abounding with good Princes, when Chriſtianity lives happy, voyd of Tyrants. The moſt holy, moſt wiſe, and moſt loving head whereof exalted above others, like to the brazen Serpent, is of power and force to free us from the bitings of ſuch Serpents, if they ſhould ariſe: and becauſe God doth ſometimes permit tyrants, for the chaſtiſement of mankinde; to ſee that all his people are this day governed by excellent Princes makes me beleeve, that the world (whatſoever others thinke) is not now worſe than it hath been, and that if there bee ſome wicked men that irritate his Juſtice, there bee likewiſe

wife ſome good, that excite his mercy.
The which mercy I pray, and humbly
turne to pray againe, that it will
pleaſe his divine goodneſſe,
to make us partakers
of now, and in
the hour of
death.

FINIS.